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Interpreting Spanish Colonial History

Interpretation

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In several California parks there are cross sections of enormous trees on display, each bearing tags on annual rings that identify significant events in human history.

The exhibits are perennially popular with visitors, but as I look closer I note a pattern. 1215: The Magna Carta. 1620: Pilgrims arrive at Plymouth. 1803: Louisiana Purchase. 1849: California Gold Rush. The only events recognized are those that pridefully represent benchmarks of the history of northern Europe, New England, the Atlantic colonies, and the westward sweep of American settlers. There is no mention of Fray Junípero Serra, of California's chain of missions, of Ishi, among the last of the Yana tribe. The exhibit treatment is as Anglo-centric as most history books Americans grew up with. Is it any surprise that we have an arch in St Louis symbolizing the Anglo movement west but none symbolizing the great Spanish movement north?

Fuller stories are, of course, the great adventure of pluralistic interpretation. It is adventure unparalleled as peoples and events beyond our bounds of experience rise into view. Our cultural centricity is diminished. But patterns of thinking, shaped by our educational systems, are deeply ingrained. "From our earliest years," pens Marilyn Ferguson, "we are seduced into a system of beliefs that becomes so inextricably braided into our experience that we cannot tell culture from nature." A skewed history has been laid upon us.

Part of the danger is that facts, as Stephen Jay Gould observes, "achieve an almost immortal status once they pass from primary documentation into secondary sources, particularly textbooks." And we have not been trained to be critical of what we read. Healthy skepticism is essential for liberation, for good interpretation.

Alternative views of the world, then, are the great need. Our task, the heart of our effort, is to strengthen the will to explore them. And as we do all peoples rightfully emerge on stage and the streams of humanity unite as a braided history.

Glen Kaye
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HISTORIA
DE NUEVA ESPAÑA,

ESCRITA POR SU ESCLARECIDO CONQUISTADOR

HERNAN CORTES,

AUMENTADA

CON OTROS DOCUMENTOS, Y NOTAS

POR EL ILUSTRISSIMO SEÑOR

DON FRANCISCO ANTONIO LORENZANA,

ARZOBISPO DE MEXICO.

Interpreting Spanish Colonial History

500 Years of Opportunity

Wally Hibbard
Superintendent
Big Cypress National Preserve

In 1492 Columbus sailed the ocean blue. So what? What possible connection could this event have to National Park Service interpreters, the tellers of the story of our nation's natural and cultural heritage? How can the stories and controversies associated with Christopher Columbus and the events put in motion by his ocean crossing enhance our interpretive efforts?

For many of us it is difficult to find a link between Columbus's voyage and the world that we find ourselves in as we try to reach the visiting public with "Our Story." When we face the obvious public misunderstanding of the man and the events, the growing controversy regarding the man and morality (Wouldn't we all be better off if Columbus hadn't discovered us?), it is no wonder that even our most skilled interpreters shy away from the subject.

But think of the story line opportunities. Think that five hundred years ago, no European contacts of consequence had taken place in this part of the world. Think that Columbus's voyages opened the way for a major exchange of people, resources, and ideas. Think that here began the greatest migration of peoples and cultures the world had ever seen. Think that what was put in motion is not yet over. And remember that for each of us, there is unlimited opportunity to ask the visiting public to think about how our world has changed as a result of the singular event that took place when Columbus and his crew spotted land in October of 1492.

Foodstuffs were exchanged, new crops were introduced on both sides of the ocean, trade routes were established, wars were fought, explorations took place, colonies were established and lost, and yes, many people and their ways of living were lost forever. Think of the amazement of these people as they viewed the European ships sail up the coast or into the harbor. Think of the fear and maybe the respect they had for the new tools of war and destruction they saw. Think of the men, women, and children that entered a new and frightening land in the name of their king or queen.

Exploration of man and the environment began on a scale not yet known to this part of the world. Fields were cleared, swamps were drained, debris was burned. When cheap labor sources gave out, imported slaves were brought in and another part of our world and its cultures was forever changed.

Look about you and think of "Your Story." Is it related to Columbus the man? Probably not. Columbus the event? Of course. All because of an event in our history, the world has changed. For five hundred years our world has been responding to the consequences of Columbus's discovery of lands and cultures previously unknown to his European contemporaries.

Ask yourself what kinds of opportunities present themselves for you to use Columbus as the "grabber" for "Your Story". How many

visitors know that on his second voyage Columbus brought horses, dogs, pigs, cattle, chicken, sheep, and goats? There were seventeen ships, 1200 men, and in the ships holds were the seeds of colonization. Columbus and his men brought the ability to plant and grow wheat, grapes, onions, fruits, and sugar cane. They were prepared to start orchards, kitchen gardens, and plantations. How many of your visitors are aware of the cultures that were present in this country when the Spanish, French, and British began their crude explorations and feeble attempts at colonization?

Five hundred years ago it began. The world is being made aware on a grand scale of the "Columbus thing." It is being damned in some places and in others it is being celebrated to the hilt. Don't miss the chance to capitalize on the opportunities it presents. Seize them to develop and deliver the best story line you can. Think OPPORTUNITY.

You have a lighthouse, an adobe ruin, a pristine high-country meadow. How does Columbus and the age of discovery relate to your story? Doesn't the lighthouse aid navigation and represent our strong maritime heritage? Likewise for the adobe ruin and the high-country meadow. They are vestiges of our past — what was here before the European contacts, conquest, and westward expansion.

No one can turn back the clock. When Columbus found these uncharted lands the floodgates of change began. If not Columbus then someone else. Don't, however, lose the world-wide attention on the man and this land that he "discovered." Visitors are hungry for knowledge. Use this opportunity to reach them with accurate, informative insights regarding your site and its contribution to our natural and cultural heritage.

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Founding of St Augustine

William Broughton
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Spanish Colonial Research Center

The tension must have been almost palpable as Pedro Menéndez de Avilés first stepped ashore on Florida's coast. Before him stood a group of armed Indians whose intentions were unclear. Somewhere behind him was a powerful French fleet, eager to engage any Spanish vessels it came across in these waters. Menéndez was vulnerable because, due to the possibility of French reinforcements arriving in Florida, he had sailed to Florida from the Canaries via Puerto Rico without stopping at Cuba for his own badly needed troops and horses. It was crucial for his small force that nothing go wrong now.

In 1565 Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was chosen by King Philip II to lead an expeditionary force to Florida—not only because of his honorable record of past service, but also because of his strong advocacy for the Spanish settlement of Florida as an economic and military base. Menéndez, born into a noble family living in Asturias in 1519, embarked upon a military career early in life. Even as a youth he exhibited extraordinary leadership qualities, as well as a talent for seamanship. His distinguished service against the

French had been recognized earlier by the Emperor Charles V, who dispatched Menéndez to the Indies on special missions in 1555 and 1557. Later, his skill helped assure victory against the French at Saint Quentin for Philip II. By 1565 Menéndez had served as a captain general of the fleet and enjoyed the friendship of the king.

Having the ear of the king allowed Menéndez to pursue one of his favorite causes: the Spanish occupation of Florida as an economic enterprise. Florida, the land described by Master Barrientos as bordered "on the east [by] the Land of Cod and Newfoundland; to the west, New Spain; to the north, China and Tartary," was not unknown to the Spaniards. Between 1513 and 1565 at least seven Spanish expeditions penetrated the territory, but all failed to establish permanent settlements. As a result, in 1561 Philip II wrote to his viceroy in New Spain, Don Luis Velasco, citing the failures of the various expeditions and questioning whether it was "sensible to expend any more money from our Treasury in populating that land ..." Spanish discouragement, however, meant opportunity to France, which, between 1562 and 1565, dispatched five separate expeditions to settle Florida.

French presence in Florida was intolerable, argued Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Philip II. In the first place, the French were trespassing on lands claimed by Spain. Second, French bases on the east coast of Florida would give haven to the dreaded corsairs, who, preying on Spanish shipping, would close the Straits of Florida to Spanish convoys leaving Havana. Finally, the Frenchmen occupying Florida were, for the most part, Huguenots. There was real danger, said Menéndez, that the hated luteranos would corrupt the Indians and turn them against the Catholic faith. "The reason for this, he thought, was that the French and English were 'Lutherans' and they and the Indians shared 'almost one law.'"

Swayed by Menéndez's argument, as well as his offer to prepare a fleet to conquer and settle Florida at his own expense, Philip II agreed to the attempt and granted Menéndez the title of adelantado and governor of the land of Florida. Creating a sense of urgency was a report that France was outfitting yet another fleet to relieve the French settlement already in place. Accordingly, the new adelantado sailed from Cádiz on June 29, 1565 with ten ships and fifteen hundred men. After passing the Canaries, however, a hurricane struck the fleet so fiercely that it was scattered and five of the ships were lost. Regrouping at San Juan, Puerto Rico, where forty-two new soldiers were recruited, the fleet pressed on toward Florida. The situation forced Menéndez to continue with only a third of his original number of men and to bypass Cuba where he had planned to pick up the additional troops and horses needed to support his expedition. On August 28, St Augustine's Day, landfall was made on the coast of Florida.

Not finding a safe harbor, the Spaniards coasted for four days, searching for both a good anchorage and the *luteranos*. It was at this point that Indians were sighted and the adelantado went ashore to make contact with them. Much to the relief of the Spaniards, the Indians proved to be friendly. They grounded their weapons and approached peaceably. From them Menéndez learned that the French settlement, Fort Caroline, was about twenty leagues north of his position.

Parting from the Indians, Menéndez sailed about eight leagues along the coast until he discovered an excellent harbor with a good beach and a river. Here he anchored, naming the site St Augustine, because it was on St Augustine's Day that they had first observed Florida's shore.

The adelantado continued up the coast in search of the Huguenots. At the mouth of St Johns River, Menéndez discovered Fort Caroline and four large galleons anchored in the harbor. The French vessels put to sea to lure the Spaniards into a sea battle, but the Spanish ships had been damaged by the storm during their passage from Cádiz, and the adelantado declined the opportunity. He returned to St Augustine to help prepare its defenses. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the local Indian cacique, Seloy, was friendly and even offered accommodations to the builders. They used his "great house" as the basis for their fortification.

Soon the French fleet appeared offshore. But before they could mount an assault a tempest arose that drove the Huguenot ships down the coast and aground. Taking advantage of nature's boon, Menéndez marched overland, surprised the French at Fort Caroline, and captured it without the loss of a single Spaniard. Those *luteranos* who had not died in the assault or escaped into the forest, the adelantado had put to the knife, sparing only the women, girls, and boys under the age of fifteen. Fort Caroline, which was located near present-day Jacksonville, was renamed San Mateo by the Spaniards.

Upon the adelantado's return to St Augustine, Indians reported to him that a large number of White men were gathered on the beach about four leagues away. On September 29, taking a small party with him, Menéndez reconnoitered the site and discovered about two hundred Frenchmen, the survivors of the foundered ships. Pretending he had a large force with him, Menéndez induced the Huguenots to surrender to him, ten men at a time. With their hands bound behind them, the groups of Frenchmen were marched behind the dunes where they were executed. On October 12 another large company of French castaways were located near the same site. This group included the French leader, Jean Ribaut. Again, all were taken prisoners and then put to the sword, save those who identified themselves as Catholics and a few musicians. The site is now known as Fort Matanzas National Monument. Menéndez then returned to St Augustine to continue the construction of a permanent settlement and fortification.

The Spanish slaughter of several hundred Huguenots during the settlement of St Augustine has tarnished that story for centuries. But we of the twentieth century, as though peering through the wrong end of a telescope, should be cautious about making a judgement. The Spanish contemporaries of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés argued that the adelantado had no choice. His supplies, they say, were running low; he had barely enough to feed his own men, much less three or four hundred prisoners. The Huguenots were armed, and although they did not know it, greatly outnumbered the Spaniards. They might have easily turned the tables on their captors. In addition, the Spaniards truly felt the *luteranos* were dangerous heretics doing the work of the devil, and their moral duty was to eliminate them. Finally, Menéndez was following the

wishes of his sovereign. On October 15, 1565 he wrote to Philip II, "[I]n all one hundred and fifty persons, rather less than more, are all the Frenchmen alive today in Florida, separated from one another and fleeing in the woods, ... of the thousand French who had landed when I arrived in these provinces ...." For this he received the approbation of the Crown. The French, of course, cried cruelty, but in 1568 the renowned French Captain Dominque de Gourgues surprised the garrison of Fort San Mateo, many of whom he took prisoner and hanged.

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés remained governor of Florida until 1574. In 1567 the settlement was moved from its original site to the entrance of Matanzas harbor and a block house was erected at the lower Matanzas inlet in 1569. In 1570 a fortification was begun that would eventually evolve into the famed Castillo de San Marcos. The adelantado's successful prosecution of his mission was to have a long-lasting effect. By forcing the French out of Florida and by establishing strong Spanish defenses there, he protected the all-important Bahama Channel for Spanish fleets conveying treasures of the Indies to Europe. The founding of St Augustine by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés secured the Spanish claim to Florida as an important strategic base for the Spanish Empire in the Americas.

Today the site of the French colony on the St Johns River is Fort Caroline National Monument. A reconstruction of the palisaded fortification has been erected for the visitor. Fort Matanzas National Monument, about fourteen miles south of St Augustine, contains the site of Menéndez's massacre of the French and a Spanish watchtower built in 1742. St Augustine, founded in 1565, is the oldest, continuously occupied European city in the United States. The Indian communal house, made into a crude fortified position by the Spanish founders, was transformed through a series of constructions over the centuries into a magnificent seventeenth-century stone defense—today's Castillo San Marcos National Monument.

Pecos and Spanish Colonial History

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Of course Columbus did not sail up the Pecos River during his voyages of "discovery." But had he ventured inland to the great trading pueblo of Pecos he would have really had something to write home about! No riches of the Indies here, but rich just the same in culture, natural bounty, and the power of geography.

Coronado, the first reality of the Spanish world to reach Pecos in 1541, found that the 2,000 people living in this frontier pueblo were far from isolated and egocentric. For years they had been traders of goods between the Apachean peoples of the Great Plains and the Pueblos along the Rio Grande Valley. In all likelihood, many of them spoke several languages and had travelled thousands of miles throughout the Pueblo world. But despite their cosmopolitan nature, nothing could prepare them for the specter of Coronado and his multitude approaching their pueblo home. No one can know what their reaction must have been. We can only compare it to how we would feel if alien beings from another

planet landed a space ship in our backyard. Thus began the clash, resentment, misunderstandings, and compromises that come when different cultures try to occupy the same ground.

History lies thick at Pecos National Historical Park. The place occupies a gateway through New Mexico's Sangre de Cristo Mountains where farmer, nomad, trader, priest, soldier, and settler have traveled for perhaps 10,000 years. For over 200 years its history was as a part of the Spanish frontier. Even so, it was more than 100 years after Columbus's voyage that the new "advance man" for Spanish culture—a Franciscan priest—arrived at the gates of the pueblo.

His mission was both political and religious (although he saw no difference between the two): to teach and convert the Pecos people to the Catholic faith and thereby make them new citizens of an expanded Spanish empire. To this end he started construction of a great mission church, finished by 1620. It was in the construction of the church that perhaps the first exchange of new ideas occurred. He had them build the church of sun-dried, formed adobe bricks, a technique unknown to the Pueblo. Perhaps, in turn, they showed him a better way to plaster the adobes to make a smooth, protected wall.

While they ate together they learned new foods; the priest may have had wheat bread, fruit, and wine to complement the pueblo dinner of squash, corn, and beans—not to mention the new animals that also gave food, tools, and clothing. The Pueblo, the Spanish, and their descendants would be changed forever. The differences between them were brought out in their differing world views—the Pueblo belief in a nurturing, harmonious life with the various spirits of Mother Earth, the Catholic belief in the absolute allegiance to one all-powerful spirit. The Pueblos were willing to believe in this new spirit—after all it had brought the Spanish many wonderful things they had never seen—but the priest wanted them to give up all the other important spirits in their life for his one God.

Conflict was inevitable and culminated in Pecos becoming part of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Spanish and their God were driven out of Pueblo territory. The new mission built at Pecos after the Spanish return in 1692 reflects more emphasis on the teaching of skills such as animal husbandry and carpentry and less emphasis on religious fervor. By the time the Santa Fe Trail opened New Mexico in 1821 to the influences of another new culture, the Anglo-American, Pecos had been virtually abandoned. Some Pecos people had left to live with other Pueblo cousins, others had scattered throughout the valley to become part of the rich layers of culture that gives New Mexico it's timeless appeal. And it is here, in the present, among the ruins of the pueblo and mission that our interpretive challenge begins—to interpret past peoples not as myth, not in black or white, but as products of their own time with experiences that can enrich and teach us today.

The people that lived, traded, and passed by Pecos were complex people with the full range of emotions and experience. I'm sure they would rile, like us, at being categorized in any way. And yet, it is how we have been taught to view history. It is interesting to note how descriptions of peoples have changed depending on the political correctness of the day. To a seventeenth century European, the Native Americans were "gentle souls" who justly should

be shown the "right" way; the devastating epidemics were a sign from God that the land should be taken. In 19th century America, with Manifest Destiny the public policy, these people had become "savage" and "dangerous" and thus could be uprooted or killed to make way for "progress."

American Indians today are still fighting stereotypes that have been perpetuated in media and schools throughout the country. The Spaniard has not fared well in history either. The "Black Legend" devised by other Europeans to discredit Spain in the seventeenth century, paints them as murderers, rapists, landgrabbers, and rabidly religious. An interpreter at Pecos who is of a Northern New Mexico Hispanic family is often told about "what you people did to the Indians." He considers himself nowhere linked historically or culturally to the early Spanish in New Mexico. He is of his own age—a blend of several hundred years of mixing New Mexico peoples.

It is important to remind ourselves and our visitors that these people throughout our complicated history were products of their own times. Many speak now in horror at the attitudes of the Colonial Spaniard or the nineteenth century American. But would our voices be the dissenting ones if we were living in those times? I think not. Soap boxes are easy perches when one is looking at history from the safety of the present. If we can help visitors recognize that when two different peoples come together both can be enriched by the experience instead of harmed, our world's future can look much brighter.

And what do we do at Pecos to help this goal along? Our tours emphasize the aforementioned "inner world views" of peoples to show that each version is legitimate and worthy, and that conflict can arise when one's view of the world is threatened. A good example of this is a simple comparison of two very different Pecos religious structures—the Pueblo kiva and the Christian church. One symbolizes a world close to the heart and womb of Mother Earth; the other a structure built high and stretching to a spirit that inhabits and commands from above. If this discussion is done well, visitors can understand how one would feel threatened and defensive when such a different belief is insisted upon. Our full moon night tours are especially good mood setters for this discussion.

We sponsor a summer of weekend cultural demonstrators profiling both traditional Pueblo and Hispanic crafts to emphasize not only the cultural contributions of both groups, but how many of the crafts attributed to one group is really a product of influences from both.

A demonstration "priest's garden," located near the mission ruins, interprets the different foods grown by both the American Indian and the Spanish over the centuries and how this exchange has made New Mexican cooking unique. Medicinal plants from both cultures, and their uses both ancient and modern, are also a part of the display.

A continuing theme of future programs will be the area's rich combination of Old and New World traits. In doing so we will continue to raise our awareness of the changes this encounter brought to the world, and to our little corner of New Mexico.

Columbus on Salt River Bay, Saint Croix

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During his second voyage to the New World, Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, landed at two Caribbean islands that would become United States territory. The second of these was Puerto Rico. The first was Saint Croix. What follows is a brief account of that landing on Saint Croix at Salt River Bay, and a survey of the nearly three centuries of colonization that followed. It is a story of conflict, enslavement, wealth, and abandonment, hidden by the emerald vegetation and turquoise waters of this quiet little bay.

On September 25, 1493, Christopher Columbus set sail from Cadiz on his second expedition to the New World. Among the 1200 soldiers, sailors, and colonists were six priests and five of the six Indians who had returned with him from his first voyage.

Sailing with the trade winds, the fleet of 17 ships reached the island of Dominica, one of the Leeward Islands of the Caribbean. Eager to reach Navidad, the colony established on Hispaniola on his first voyage, Columbus sailed northwest along the string of islands, then turned westerly. On the morning of November 14 his fleet approached the island the Taino Indians called Ayay. Columbus, however, named it Santa Cruz. Sailing westward along its northern shore the Spanish were impressed by both the evidence of cultivation and that it was well populated. The fleet passed by Christiansted harbor and reached Salt River Bay about 11 in the morning.

Wishing to contact the natives and take on water, Columbus sent a small boat or barge filled with about 25 armed men into the bay. Landing near a village, some of the men went ashore. Most of the Carib Indians who occupied the village fled, but several Taino slaves were captured. The Spanish were well aware of the reputation of the Caribs, or Caribbees, for cruelty and cannibalism. Columbus had learned of these warlike tribesmen during the first voyage, and only a week earlier at Guadaloupe had fearfully awaited the return of an exploring party.

As the Santa Cruz boat party was ready to depart, a canoe with four men, two women, and a boy appeared . Overwhelmed by the sight of the fleet at anchor, they stopped paddling. The Spanish seized the opportunity and cut off their escape. The natives took up their bows and began firing on the Spanish, wounding two of them. Ultimately they were captured and taken back to the Admiral's flagship, *Maria Galante*. Other hostiles appeared on shore, but they had no weapons that could reach the ships. Realizing that further exploration would only result in further conflict, Columbus ordered the fleet to weigh anchor and departed the morning of the 15th.

This incident was the first documented hostile contact between the Spanish and natives of the New World. However, it was not the first hostile incident between the two cultures. Two weeks after the skirmish at Salt River Bay, Columbus confirmed what he already feared; the colony of Navidad established 11 months earlier had been wiped out by the natives. The Spanish colonists' passion for gold and women probably resulted in their death.

The departure of the fleet from Salt River Bay began a period of nearly 150 years with no known European activity on its shores. Spanish and Carib slave raids and continuous conflict between the Tainos and Caribs—they eventually joined forces against the Spanish about 1510—resulted in the depopulation of Saint Croix, a condition that persisted into the early decades of the 1600s.

Still the property of Spain, Saint Croix, as well as most of the Antilles, was not the focus of active colonization by Spain—but it did attract the attention of other European powers. In early 1641 English settlers arrived, only to be set upon by Dutch settlers who seized the island fourteen months later. Along with establishing a colony, the Dutch built a triangular fort on the west side of Salt River Bay. In 1645, the English settlers who remained there revolted, killing the Dutch governor, and driving off the Dutch settlers. The colony prospered, and this was their undoing. Five years later, faced with a Spanish ultimatum to move or be slaughtered, the English colonists gratefully left the island. They also left behind a substantial development. A Spanish reconnaissance or intelligence map of Saint Croix prepared in 1647 prior to the first attempt to oust the English, showed the fort built by the Dutch, the "House of their preachers," and the governor's house. Four stylized houses indicating residences lined the east side of the bay. An additional 27 residences were shown on the island. The map also showed a system of roads, fortifications in the general area of Christiansted and Frederiksted, and the house of the Earl of Marlborough, located toward the east end of the island.

The Spanish did not have long to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Later in 1650 Phillipe de Poincy, lieutenant general of the French West Indies, dispatched a gunboat and a barkentine and 160 men from St Christopher, and seized the island. The lieutenant general soon transferred ownership of Saint Croix to the Knights of Malta, but the island remained under French government for the next 45 years.

The new governor, M du Bois, relocated the main settlement to the Salt River Bay area. There, a residence for the commander or governor was built of stone. It was a two story structure, with towers at both ends. Elaborate formal walks. gardens and parks were laid out, and it is believed that du Bois imported petit deer that still inhabit Saint Croix. A sugar factory was constructed, as well as a stable and other out buildings. On the west side of the bay, du Bois enlarged the old Dutch fort, built landing stages, indigo vats, and possibly a customs house. He also permitted the construction of a Dominican monastery with adjacent plantation and sugar factory overlooking the bay.

The French government continued to operate the island, but its economy gradually declined in the face of trade restrictions, taxes, impositions by the governing authority, and sickness. In 1695 the island was abandoned, and the 147 whites and 623 slaves were transported to St Domingo. Saint Croix quickly reverted to nature. A visitor in 1709 noted that only plants such as pomegranate, lemon, cashew, potato, cassava, and fruit trees remained, while cattle roamed the island. In 1733, the Danish West India and Guinea Company purchased Saint Croix from France. Ironically,

240 years after Columbus's arrival, evidence of European occupancy was limited to ruins and surviving exotic plants and animals.

Today, the evidence and the record of European presence and impact on the land surrounding Salt River Bay from 1493 to 1695 is scant, scattered, or concealed beneath the soil. It is for the National Park Service to seek and to save what remains, and then protect and interpret it for future generations. That task offers difficult challenges, but different from those faced by the Carib, the Taino, the Spanish, the Dutch, the English, the Blacks, and the French during their years on the island called Ayay, Santa Cruz, and Saint Croix.

The Biological Impacts of 1492

Richard L Cunningham
Regional Chief of Interpretation
Western Region

On October 7, 1492, Christopher Columbus, observing southbound migratory birds, changed his course to the west-south-west. Five days later he made landfall in the Bahamas. Thus the biology of the New World affected the Old World's course of history, before the Old World forever affected the biology of the New World.

The log of Columbus's first voyage is replete with superlative descriptions of the beauty and natural history of what was seen. Huge trees (canoes) capable of holding about 150 men, flocks of parrots and other birds so dense as to blot out the sun, and fragrant and beautiful flowers were commonly described. The people encountered were gentle, peaceful, and friendly.

There is still much beauty to be seen in the West Indies. Today, tourism is a prime economy of many of the islands. But 500 years of environmental change have had disastrous biological impacts on the Caribbean. Within two decades of their initial contact with the Spanish, the Taino Indians, the first people Columbus encountered, had disappeared from the Bahamas. They were probably the first new World vertebrate extinction caused by contact with the Old World.

Though the combined land mass of all the West Indian islands is about equivalent to the size of Oregon, they contain almost as many terrestrial animal species as found in the United States and Canada together. With Spanish colonization of Hispaniola in 1493, an extinction process began that still continues today. Of the 39 species of Western Hemisphere mammals that have become extinct since 1600, 34 species were native to the West Indies.

By 1550, 57 years after the founding of the first permanent New World colony, the first mammal became extinct. During the period 1600 to 1973, six birds, 34 mammals, and ten reptiles became extinct in the West Indies; a total of 50 species. During this same period North America lost only eight species of vertebrate animals.

Columbus's voyages began the process of "Europeanizing" the New World. The Europeans immediately began to change as much of the New World into as much of the Old World as quickly as they could. For example, the Spanish had an initial resistance to the foods the Indians ate, so they brought their own foods and crop sources with them.

Columbus's second voyage contained seeds and cuttings of wheat, melons, onions, chickpeas, radishes, grapevines, sugarcane, and fruit stones for fruit trees. They also introduced oranges, citrons, lemons, pomegranates, figs, and bananas. The sugarcane brought to Hispaniola in 1493 was the precursor of the crop that was to change the environmental face of the West Indies. By the 1530s there were 34 sugar mills on Hispaniola. As the native Indian populations were decimated, they were replaced by Black African slaves.

The movement of food plants, however, was not solely a one-way process of Old World to New. Though the immediate treasures were of gold and silver, eventually the greatest riches the New World gave to the Old were not mineral but vegetable (in other words, biological). Five New World crops alone have become among the most important foods of humankind the world over: maize (corn), potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, and manioc. Add to this other important New World crops: tomatoes, green peppers, chile peppers, pineapple, papaya, avocado, squashes, pumpkin, peanuts, cocoa, and guava. Tobacco was also a New World crop.

The other early environmental impact by the Spanish was the introduction of domesticated animals. Columbus's second voyage transported horses, cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, dogs, and chickens. Cattle and pigs had immediate ecological impacts. Pigs adapted extremely well and soon thousands were roaming wild in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and eventually, Jamaica.

By the 1520s there were hundreds of cattle roaming on Hispaniola. By 1500 all of the most important of the Old World domesticated animals had reached the New World. The least welcome of these immigrants were black rats. The rats spread throughout the Indies, feeding on native plants and preying on native wildlife. They also fed on domesticated crops leading to the eventual introduction of the mongoose. Rats spread disease that affected the native Indian population, the European settlers, and the African slaves.

Haiti was once one of the most biologically diverse countries in the West Indies. The island of Hispaniola contains many endemic plants and animals, some of which occur only in Haiti. About 36 percent of Haiti's plants are endemic, and the flora has about 5,000 species of known plants, including 300 species of orchids. Of the 28 species of terrestrial mammals that once lived in Haiti, only two still survive. Both are threatened. Thus, 92 percent of Haiti's non-flying mammals have become extinct since the Pleistocene. Twenty species of birds are endemic to Hispaniola, and the Gray-crowned Palm Tanager occurs only in Haiti.

There are also many species of endemic reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and invertebrates. There is some hope for environmental protection, for there is growing environmental awareness among the people and the government of Haiti to protect their natural resources. Two national parks have been established, but their public support depends upon providing badly needed tourist dollars and in protecting watersheds.

Deforestation, soil erosion, air and water pollution, solid waste disposal, toxic pollutants, over-population, endangered species,

extinctions, urbanization and development, and tourism impact affect the islands of the Caribbean sea. They are all a legacy of the Columbus event. The beginnings of today's environmental change in America traces its origins back to 1492-93.

How is all of this applicable to US national parks and other reserves? An interpretive program for any area could be developed based on the following outline.

Interpretive Implications: How do the biological impacts of 1492 relate to the national park system? Topics:

1. General environmental changes
   - What was the condition of the ecosystem of the park (or surrounding region) at the time of European contact?
   - What is the condition today and what changes have taken place?
   - What impacts did the Native Americans have?
2. Status of native species
   - What species have become extinct that once occurred in the park or surrounding region? How?
   - What species are endemic to the park or surrounding region?
   - What species in the park or surrounding are currently considered threatened or endangered?
   - What species have NPS resources management programs?
3. Alien species
   - What species of alien plants and animals inhabit the park?
   - What alien species have resources management programs?
4. Resources management
   - What are the major park resources management issues for current and future park natural resource protection?

In the Spanish Sea

Glen Kaye
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Let us remember how difficult it was. Exploration of the New World in the years following Christopher Columbus was always filled with uncertainty and danger. In that pre-petroleum world Spanish sailors could rely only upon wind to drive them forth. Longitude could be calculated by those sophisticated in the use of the astrolabe, but it was impossible to determine latitude. Hurricanes (named by the Taino Indians of the Caribbean) seemingly appeared out of nowhere. Life on board ship was often a misery.

"The place is full of lice," the Dominican friar Tomás de la Torre wrote of his 1534 ocean voyage, "that eat every living creature, and one can not wash one's clothes, as they shrink when cleaned in sea water...[the ship is] a narrow prison...from which nobody can escape even though there are neither bars nor chains, and it is so cruel that no distinction is made among the prisoners, who are all treated and punished alike. The crowded space, the suffocating air, and the heat are unbearable."

Understanding of Earth's newly discovered features came slowly and painfully. Cartographic errors might be perpetuated for decades until hard lessons brought new information.

After Christobal Colon's first touch on new shores, exploration and settlement was by Spanish men and women of extraordinary strength. They had to be. They were hard-headed realists, for they knew full well the probability of death at sea or in dangerous lands. But they possessed courage rarely imagined in today's world, and they went—some for adventure, some for wealth, some (as many documents show) to learn the secrets of the worlds being revealed. And all of them, the aristocrat, the priest, the governor, the settler, the sailor, built the pattern of Spanish culture in the Americas. A few are famous. Most are unknown despite their stories.

Consider the men and women who set out in four ships from the New Spain port of Vera Cruz in the spring of 1554. The silver mines of Mexico were already making Spain a major European power, and these vessels, or naos, carried about 60,000 pounds of gold and silver as coin or plate, worth 1.5 million pesos for the investors and Spanish crown.

The ships also carried barrels of cochineal, used in making dyes, cowhides, sugar, sasparilla (the medical rage of the day), liquidambar, and about 400 men and women as passengers and crew with their personal belongings. Out of necessity, the ships gathered at either end of the crossing so they could travel together and defend themselves from the marauding pirates of other European nations.

The plan was simple. Sail from Vera Cruz to Havana for additional cargo and passengers, then proceed to the Spanish port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River to unload and prepare for another trip.

But when storm and ship collide, it is the ship that must give way. When the encounter is far from shore, there is nothing to do but go with the wind and pray. And such was the misfortune of this flotilla. A tropical storm struck within a few days of leaving Vera Cruz, and only the *San Andrés* made it to Cuba.

The other three ships, the *San Esteban, Espiritu Santo*, and *Santa María de Yciar*, were inexorably driven hundreds of miles to the northwest before the wind, until they breached on the sand bars of Costa Bara della Maddalena—today's Padre Island National Seashore in Texas.

Nearly 300 survivors made it to shore. Of these, about 30 were able to return to Vera Cruz in a small boat and report the calamity. But for the rest of the castaways, life became a horror.

With few supplies on hand, and perhaps prodded by the threatening Karankawa Indians, the survivors decided their best chance was to walk the coastline of a little known land back to Pánuco, the closest outpost north of Vera Cruz. They did not know it was more than 400 miles away. Without food or adequate clothing, the men, women, and children began a trail of tragedy and suffering of epic proportions. The party lost its crossbows while trying to cross the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande), and, without protection, the arrows of the Karankawa began to bring the people down one by one.

At first it seemed the Indians only wanted the people's clothes. In desperation the Spaniards undressed and left their clothes behind. The women and children then marched ahead to reduce their shame. But the attacks continued, and at the Rio de las Palmas (today's Soto la Marina) the men found the women and children—all murdered.

Again and again the Karankawa attacked, and at "the last big river before the Pánuco," the companions of Fray Marcos de Mena buried him in the sand, his face exposed, with seven arrow wounds in his body. It was an act of compassion that saved his life. Fray Marcos revived and struggled south, only to find his comrades dead. He alone survived the six weeks trek to Tampico, where friendly Indians found his emaciated form. Fray Marcos carried arrow points in his body the rest of his days.

The Lord permitted three ships to be wrecked on the 29th of [April] off the coast of Florida near the Río de las Palma at 26 ½ degrees, where more than 250 persons died and more than a million ducats were lost ....

Dr Antonio Rodíguez de Quesada

Francisco Vázquez, who decided to return to the shipwreck site rather than attempt to walk the unknown shore, was the only other survivor of this new world tragedy. He was found by the salvors from Vera Cruz on July 22, 1554, three months after the disastrous wreck.

During their three month stay the salvors managed to extract about half of the gold and silver from the wrecks and return it to Vera Cruz, where again one of five ships loaded for Spain sank with a portion of the bullion.

Spanish maps of the period depicted wrecks along the Texas shore, but still, memories of the disaster gradually faded away. Only when treasure hunters began to exploit the wreck sites in the 1950s and 1960s did interest revive, and looting prompted the State of Texas to pass the Texas Antiquities Code to preserve such sites. The state also funded an archeological survey to study the wrecks and preserve what remained.

Today a major exhibition at the Corpus Christi museum displays artifacts from the ships: Spanish coins and silver plate, weapons, navigational tools, a portion of a keel. Meticulous records of the Spanish government and accounts of the disaster also help bring to life one of the extraordinary sa ,as of Spanish colonial history in the Americas. And at long last the deeds and tribulations of those forgotten people is recognized with honor and admiration.

A Missionary Perspective of Spanish Colonial History

16

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Christopher Columbus and the voyages of discovery were a direct product of their times in Europe. So too was the missionary effort that proved so vital in the European colonization of the New World. After 700 years of Islamic suppression of Christianity on

the Iberian Peninsula, the population ousted the Moors and unified Spain under the Catholic monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand.

It was this unity of the Spanish Empire, a first in a medieval Europe characterized by minor kingdoms, that produced a nationalistic attitude of "we are the best—the best culture, the best religion—and we have a God-given obligation to spread this culture and religion to the rest of the world". It was in this historic context that Columbus was granted permission and financial support to sail West in search of the East.

Certainly his desire was to gain wealth and position. But we should not lose track of the fact that, above all else, Columbus sailed for the Catholic monarchs and for the God of the Christians. His ultimate goal was to spread Spanish culture and the Catholic Faith.

Columbus was himself a devoutly religious man. It is not clear if there was a priest on his first voyage, but on his second were Friar Bernal Boyl and a dozen other friars to begin the missionary process in the New World. One of these was the Franciscan Juan Marchen, who had been instrumental in convincing Queen Isabella to support Columbus's venture.

The Order of Friars of the Regular Observance of St Francis, established in Europe in 1210, was one of three Mendicant Orders of lesser brothers sent to the New World. Members of these "beggar" orders were not monks. Rather than withdraw from society, their calling was to preach to Christians and convert non-Christians. Rather than the monastery, the world was their special interest. Thus they were a natural for the role of spreading the Catholic Faith to the "pagans" of the Indies.

From the very beginning, the church was at odds with the civil authorities over treatment of the natives. Friar Boyl returned to Spain within a year after quarreling with Columbus over the harsh treatment of the natives. But it must be remembered that in Spain the church and state were inseparable. The Crown was the head of the church and had been given the right, by the pope, to collect tithes from the Indians as long as the proceeds were spent to promote the development of the Catholic Faith in America. By 1504 the first Catholic diocese was established in the Caribbean, and the first patriarch of the Indies was King Ferdinand's minister of the colonies. In this way the Crown directly controlled all church matters in the New World.

Europeans generally viewed people from America and Africa as heathens, barbarians, pagans, and savages. From the time of Columbus there developed a negative view of the Indian as a race with many deficiencies of religion and civilization. The ease by which Europeans overran both Africa and America served to prove European superiority, at least to the Europeans. After all, Europe was called "Christendom," and the Spanish saw themselves as the bearers of civilization, Christianity, and learning. Their calling was to spread them around the world.

The debate in Europe raged over how the Indian was to be treated. Was he subhuman, or capable of salvation? The case for fair and humane treatment was argued in Spain by the Dominican friar Bartolome de Las Casas. Fray Bartolome had been granted a Cu-

ban encomienda in 1512. But after witnessing the tragedy of that institution, he gave up his position and began a lifelong crusade towards the incorporation of the Indian into Spanish society.

Incorporation carried with it the role of protector. Indians were viewed as "pobres y miserables," the poor and wretched who had to be treated as children, to be looked after. Las Casas argued successfully to have the clergy appointed official protector of the Indians in America in 1516. Because they were viewed as her subjects, Queen Isabella was also opposed to mistreatment of the Indians.

Rather than try to get the Indian out of the way, in order to create a new America, the Spanish goal became to make the Indians Spanish by replacing their culture with Spanish culture.

When Cortés landed on the coast of Mexico in 1519, one of the most important instructions he carried with him from the King of Spain was, "You must bear in mind from the beginning that the first aim of your expedition is to serve God and spread the Christian Faith ... you must neglect no opportunity to spread the knowledge of the True Faith and the Church of God among these people who dwell in darkness." One might say he was on a mission from God. A war waged against the Indians for their own good was deemed a "just" war.

Developing missions was always a primary concern of the Columbian conquest. Cortés preached Christianity to the Aztecs and even attempted to convert Moctezuma himself. In the years following the conquest, many of Cortés's officers joined Mendicant Orders as a show of faith.

With the arrival of the "Twelve Apostles of Mexico" in 1524 the Franciscan missionary effort began in earnest. At the same time, Cortés was writing King Charles: "I beg your Majesty to send them (more friars) with as little delay as possible." The first twelve members of the Dominican Order arrived in 1526. Seven Augustinian friars arrived in 1533.

The missionaries pursued their goal of civilizing and Catholicizing by systematically destroying Indian temples, idols, and manuscripts. As the old religions were eradicated, the friars of the new faith grew in number and riches. By 1560 there numbered 80 friaries and 380 friars in New Spain. In Lima, Peru the clergy made up ten percent of the population. Churches and monasteries were so abundant that a law was passed forbidding their being located closer together than six leagues (15 miles).

The right granted by the king that allowed friars to collect tithes and exploit Indian labor created much resentment—and by the end of the 1500s the office of "Protector de Indios" became the exclusive property of the civil officials. The clergy, however, still retained a duty to protect the Indians even though they held no official title.

As the regular Catholic religious hierarchy arrived in New Spain, the Franciscan Order gradually came under the control of the bishop of each newly created diocese. By the end of the 1500s the friars had nothing to do but retreat to their convents or look to the Northern Frontier if they hoped to continue their missionary work.

As the Spanish frontier advanced northward onto the plateau of Mexico the military encountered nomadic Indian tribes they collec-

tively called the Chichimecas. Their military efforts, to subdue the Chichimecas so that colonists could exploit the silver found there, proved unsuccessful and a great financial burden for the Crown.

The Bishop of Guadalajara urged the King to cease the costly and destructive war against the Chichimecas and to send Franciscan friars to establish missions for conversion and pacification. By offering protection for the settled Indians from raiding bands and Spanish slavers, the friars hoped to bring the native people into villages where they could teach Christianity and Spanish culture. The cost, much less than continued military operations, was to be borne by the Crown.

Thus the Franciscan mission became the preferred institution for advancing Spanish goals on the Northern Frontier. It was paramount to the survival of the Spaniard and became the center of all activity. Even farming and herding was done nearby. In 1540 Franciscans accompanied Coronado on his entrada into what is today the southwestern United States. Thus in 1542 Fray Juan Padilla became the first of many Franciscan priests martyred in the calling.

In 1598 ten Franciscans were among the party accompanying Don Juan de Oñate, colonizer of New Mexico. The Spanish Crown continued to supply the missions even when the treasury was bankrupt in the seventeenth century, a testament to the importance and success of the mission program.

From the missionary perspective, the friars always saw themselves as the "Protector de Indios." Undeniably the Indian was caught between the tithe of the padre and the tax of the governor. To be sure, atrocities were committed in the name of God. Baptized Indians were often disciplined harshly and the use of forced labor was slavery by any other name. But neither genocide nor the destruction of paradise was ever the goal of Columbus or the Spanish colonizers of the New World.

Puerto Ricans and George Washington

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One of the questions tossed about in educational circles is, "How can a Chicano or Puerto Rican child identify with George Washington and the American Revolution and the rest of all that Anglo history?"

The answer could well be, "Technically, better than your average child of Scandinavian or Swiss ancestry, as the Hispanic child has a statistically better chance of having an ancestor who participated in the American Revolution." Here's why.

On February 12, 1781, a Spanish expeditionary force from St Louis, allied with the rebellious Americans, captured the British trading post at St Joe, Michigan. After raising their flag, they burned the post and withdrew the next day.

That one day in Michigan was the highwater mark of Spanish power in the continental United States. For one brief day, the Spanish flag at St Joe, Michigan joined Spanish flags flying from staffs in New Orleans, San Antonio, St Louis, Santa Fe, Los Ange-

les, and San Francisco—nearly half of what was to become the United States.

One associates the Spanish with San Antonio or San Francisco—but St Joe, Michigan? How the Spanish got to Michigan is part of the story of Spain's "accidental empire" from 1763 to 1802.

The empire, as it turns out, was the result of monumental bad timing on the part of the Spanish government: Spain decided to enter the Seven Year War in the last year of the war on the side of the loser, France. It seems that Spanish pride and sovereignty had been injured by numerous British insults, such as the impressment of Spanish seamen on British warships. The Spanish decision was disastrous; in quick succession, Spain lost Havana and Manila to British amphibious forces.

The French king, Louis XVI, realized that he was losing the war. Perhaps he felt a bit sorry that his cousin, Carlos III of Spain, was also taking a beating. So, to compensate Spain for the loss of Manila and Havana, and to prevent Louisiana from falling into the hands of the British, France ceded it to Spain in a secret treaty. A New Orleans under Spanish customs tax collectors would discourage British colonists from settling in the Mississippi Valley (which was supposed to be an Indian buffer state) or even using the Mississippi.

The British were, of course, not obligated to honor the secret treaty, as they had been at war with Spain as well as France. They could have adopted a "winner take all" attitude, ignored the secret treaty, and simply taken all the former French territory.

It is an interesting proposition, and I asked Ed Bearss, chief historian of the National Park Service about it. Historian Bearss believes that the issue was mainly economic: England had just concluded the ruinously expensive Seven Years War and had no particular interest in taking on a "white elephant" colony whose expenses would outrun its revenues for the foreseeable future. England now had Canada and had evicted France from North America. England had realized her main strategic objectives. There was no reason to take on a burden, so why not let a weak power like Spain have New Orleans and the western shore of the Mississippi?

Other historians have suggested additional reasons. Britain was not particularly interested that her colonists settle west of the Appalachians; "Manifest Destiny" and "Westward Expansion" were American ideas rather than English; a British New Orleans would surely have been a beacon for every frontiersman who could knock together a raft or flat boat.

A second interesting question is why Spain accepted the Louisiana white elephant, one they sensed was not going to turn a profit. There was a face saving element: though they were on the losing side, Spain's acceptance of Louisiana would mightily increase the size, if not the power of the Spanish Empire. Also, Spanish Louisiana, stretching from the west bank of the Mississippi to the east slope of the Rockies, would provide a buffer for Spain's really valuable colony, Mexico, which provided the silver that kept Spain going. Louisiana was, of course, already lightly settled by the French all the way up to the "Illinois Country." The Spanish

wisely decided not to rock the boat by imposing Spanish customs or language on the easy-going French.

The object was apparently to project Spanish power on a shoestring budget of men and money. Unlike the English, the Spanish were not unloading boat loads of colonists to fill up their territory. With the exception of several groups of Spanish speaking Canary Islanders in Louisiana, the Spanish government made little attempt to settle the colony.

To project Spanish power with very few Spaniards, the Spanish were forced to rely on Indian allies. It is an oversimplification to say that the Europeans wished to exterminate North American Indians. The Indians were desperately needed by Europeans to help kill other Europeans who differed in language and/or religion from the "good" Europeans. The allegiance of the Indians was acquired through the promise of weapons, trade goods, and the awarding of "peace medals" (large silver discs with the European monarch's portrait). Ceremonial canes of office with silver heads, colorful uniforms, and a "treaty certificate" somewhat resembling a modern diploma were also tools to build alliances.

However, the Spanish themselves admitted that the English were much better at acquiring and keeping Indian allies than they. It was an ominous failing for a colony that was not attracting Spanish settlers.

Louisiana produced a modest amount of indigo (a blue dye product), some sugar, a quantity of furs and deer skins, and a surprisingly large amount of bear grease, which seems to have been the best cooking oil and shortening of the eighteenth century. Clearly the Spanish were not looking at the Seven Cities of Cibola, and they knew it. Louisiana had potential, but as far as the Spanish were concerned, it was the Land of Tomorrow and they had to deal with Today.

Through their French subjects, the Spanish were well aware of the Anglo-Saxon horde threatening to pour over the mountains and sweep through the Mississippi Valley and perhaps onward to Texas and Mexico. Spain probably felt an enormous but erroneous relief when, in 1776, the apparently monolithic Anglo-Saxon wall began to fragment in armed revolt (probably not unlike the relief felt in the West when the Soviet Union began to fragment).

Spain boasted the largest empire of the era, and the Spanish government certainly was not interested in democratic government. However, this revolution was too good an opportunity to overlook. The all-powerful British Navy was easily able to blockade American ports, but there was a back door to America, through Spanish New Orleans and up the Mississippi and Ohio to Pennsylvania, a back door that could not be locked because Spain was officially neutral. Thousands of pounds of gun powder plus other supplies went through this back door, as well as American secret agents such as Francisco Vigo, who helped assure the defeat of the British in the Illinois Country.

When Spain finally did declare war on England in 1779 Don Bernardo Galvez was governor of Louisiana, arguably the best Spanish administrator and soldier of the 18th century. Only 28 years old, he was incredibly charismatic and could make an army

out of nothing and overcome natural, military, or bureaucratic obstacles. He liked to fight at the head of his troops. He could soak up war wounds like El Cid. He received two lance and arrow wounds fighting the Apaches in the Southwest and a serious wound fighting the Moslems in North Africa. He would stop two more bullets in the coming campaign. His men, Black or White, understandably revered him.

His demoralized officers suggested that they surrender if the British attacked New Orleans. But Galvez attacked first, taking Fort Bute and Baton Rouge in rapid succession. Next he besieged Mobile, taking that town just before the British relief column arrived. He then went to Havana and lobbied successfully for more troops to take the major British Naval base at Pensacola, Florida. He started with 600 ragged troops and eventually commanded 7,000 troops including Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican units, Black Spanish troops, and the Irish Brigade of Spain.

When the Spanish admiral refused to run the guns of the British Forts guarding Pensacola Bay, Galvez took his personal brig and ran the guns—to "Allay fear" as he put it. He shamed the admiral into attacking, the Spanish troops were landed, the siege begun, and after a month of plucky resistance by the British and their Indian allies, Pensacola formally surrendered May 10, 1781. Five months later and a thousand miles away, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington.

Galvez went on to become viceroy of Mexico, and Spanish Louisiana slipped into the backwater of Empire. Spanish hopes of a fragmented America were illusory and the United States proved more of a threat than Britain ever was. A perfidious American general, James Wilkinson, let the Spanish believe that he could prevent the Americans from taking Spanish Louisiana if they would continue to keep him on their secret payroll. All to no avail. Spanish Louisiana fell not to America, but to Napoleon, who acquired it in a secret treaty in 1800 and then sold it to the Americans in 1803.

What did Spanish Louisiana mean in the great pageant of history? Spain expected little from it except to serve as an "early warning" trip wire. Spain's help in the American revolution was valuable, but probably not critical, and Spain did not delay appreciably the Westward march. But Spanish Louisiana did give us another set of heroes for the American Revolution, including the redoubtable Bernardo Galvez who exhibited all the virtues of patience, persistence, dogged courage, humor, and sang froid that until comparatively recent histories, were ascribed only to Anglos.

You might ask if these Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Cubans, and Black Spanish were really fighting for democracy, or just following Bernardo Galvez. Well, yes, they were fighting for democracy, just as much as the Royal French Army and Navy who saved the day at Yorktown were fighting for democracy.

Dr Jo Ann Carrigan, professor of History at the University of Nebraska, quotes one writer: "The descendants of all those who served under Galvez in the campaigns against the British Floridas were eligible for membership in the Sons of the American Revolution [and presumably, also the Daughters], for the men who fought

at Baton Rouge, Mobile, and Pensacola struck blows for American Freedom against England as determinedly as those who fought at Bunker Hill, Saratoga, or Yorktown."

Recently, the Daughters of the American Revolution announced that any descendant of anyone who lived in North America at the time of the American Revolution and was not the descendant of a "Notorious Tory" would be eligible for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution.

So, if you are of Puerto Rican, Gulf Coast Black, Cuban, or Mexican New Spain extraction, and not descended from a "Notorious Tory," you might like to join the DAR or the SAR. I regret that I am not eligible, as my ancestors arrived here considerably after the Revolution.

A Brief History of the Colonial Cartography of Spanish North America

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Spanish colonial cartography of North America began with Christopher Columbus's First Voyage of Discovery in 1492. Although field sketches were probably made of the Caribbean at that time, it was not until Juan de la Cosa, under the command of the Admiral of the Ocean Sea, printed his map in 1500. The map featured Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and insular configurations in relation to Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and other places as far as the Ganges River in India. Juan de la Cosa's map began a cartographical tradition for the Western Hemisphere that continues today. In regard to historical and cultural geography, toponymy, topography, and the study of natural resources, Spanish colonial cartography has significantly contributed to our understanding of the Americas.

Spanish colonial cartography also offers a window to the past through which the historical processes of discovery, exploration, and settlement may be viewed. For example, when, by 1513, Spanish maritime explorers had already run the Atlantic coastline of North America, contemporaries could little comprehend its vast extent, from Labrador to the Strait of Magellan, as well as its location in reference to Europe. Sixteen years later, however, Enrique Rivero clarified the meaning of such discoveries by publishing his map showing the entire Atlantic coastline of North and South America with very much the same configuration known today. His map featured Spanish place names for the east coast of present day United States and other places along the Atlantic seaboard as far south as Tierra del Fuego. Rivero's map also featured the coast of Chile, Peru, Central America, and portions of the southern coast of Mexico along the Pacific coast.

Florida appeared prominent on Rivero's map, for Juan Ponce de Leon had explored and named the peninsula in 1513. Six years later, Alonso de Pineda made a reconnaissance of the Gulf Coast. In his explorations he noted the mouths of many rivers including the Rio Grande on the Texas coast and the Mississippi, which he named Rio del Espiritu Santo. Twenty-six years later, Geronimo

Chavez published his map showing the extensive knowledge of a large area from Florida to the Mississippi River, gathered by such explorers as Hernando de Soto (1539-1543). By dint of these early explorations, Spanish officials held that Florida encompassed a large area extending from the Georgia coast around the peninsula to the present littorals of Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas.

By the end of the 1530s, explorations north from Mexico City brought new interests in the interior of North America. The motives for the expeditions were, characteristically, those of the Age of Discovery; the search for fabled cities of wealth, like those of the Aztec Kingdom and the Inca Empire, and the search for raw resources. Although Vasco Nuñez de Balboa discovered the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) in 1513, renewed interest in what lay beyond 28 degrees north parallel did not occur until the late 1530s and early 1540s. During the period 1539-1543, three major expeditions explored the great extent of North America from Florida to the California coast.

The first, led by Hernando de Soto, explored from Tampa Bay to Georgia and on to the Mississippi River, crossing through Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana before reaching eastern Texas. The second expedition (1540-1542), commanded by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, traversed north from Sonora on the west Mexican coast to Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and central Kansas. The third, a maritime expedition (1542-1543) under Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, ran the Pacific Coast from Baja California past present day San Diego to Cape Blanco near the Rogue River in Oregon.

Significantly, not quite fifty years had passed since Christopher Columbus had claimed the New World for his Catholic Majesties. Explorers added new information for Europeans to wonder about. Cartographers like Abraham Ortelius mapped the course of each Spanish explorer across the New World with the studied eye of a scholar-monk. Greek and Roman mythological figures, sea monsters, the four winds, and ornate compass roses illuminated their maps and enhanced the place-names of the real and imagined geography they recorded. The map makers sat by the hour and marveled at the strange stories behind each name.

Ortelius was among the first to become interested in the geography of North America's interior. From interviews with explorers, and through study of their correspondence, diaries, and field maps, the famed cartographer received vague and varied descriptions of the Atlantic coastline of the New World. Still, he was able to draft it with great accuracy. Likewise, his delineation of the Pacific Coast of South America was competently achieved. However, the land north of Acapulco on the western Mexican coast was little known as no more than five expeditions had seen the north country. Ortelius, plagued with uncertainty, nonetheless published his map -pocked with distortions and imaginary place names throughout the northwestern portion of North America.

By mistake, Ortelius showed the Rio Grande draining into the Pacific Ocean. To sixteenth century geographers, however, other names on Ortelius's map raised many questions and piqued the curious mind. Strange names included Acuco for Acoma, Cicuye for Pecos, and Tototeac, Marata, and Tiguex for large Indian prov-

inces. Gran Quivira, the legendary kingdom that the Spaniards hoped to find in their explorations of the north, earned a place in the annals of American history and European folklore. Their stories were intricately tied with Indian America.

The interior of North America challenged Spanish officials with future exploration and settlement plans. By the summer of 1598 Juan de Oñate had led a wagon train of settlers to the confluence of the Rio Chama and Rio Grande in northern New Mexico. There, they established a base of operations from which to explore eastward to the Arkansas River in central Kansas. The Enrique Martinez Map of 1601 featured the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro, Royal Road of Interior, that ran from Mexico City north to Guanajuato, Zacatecas, on to the ford at El Paso del Norte, and San Gabriel, the capital of New Mexico. The Martinez Map detailed the location of many Indian pueblos along the Rio Grande and the Rio Pecos, as well as the Rio Madalena (Canadian River of Texas) and the Arkansas River on the Great Plains. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the maps is the dotted line indicating the route from the Rio Grande around the Sangre de Cristo Mountains to the Great Plains.

New Mexican fascination with the Great Plains meant that Spanish settlements and Indian pueblos on the Rio Grande would develop trade relationships with Plains Indians. The resources of the Great Plains centered around the by-products of the buffalo. Spanish metal trade knives and hawk bells as well as Puebloan blankets and pottery were traded for tanned leather tents, buffalo hides, and buffalo meat as well as slaves of the Plains tribes. The millions of buffalo on the Great Plains appeared to offer a limitless supply for trade and hunting. Early Spanish explorers facetiously called the buffalo *vaca monstruosa*, or "monstrous cow," and wrote various descriptions regarding its size, color, awkward gait, and ferocious temperament when riled. The Great Plains trade continued throughout the Spanish Colonial Period, 1540-1821.

In the seventeenth century, New Mexico occupied an important position in Spain's claim to North America. Between 1598-1680, New Mexico served as a buffer province against possible English and French encroachments. It was also a base for the exploration of Texas and the Great Plains to the east, present day Colorado to the north, and present day Arizona to the west. After 1610 New Mexico's importance as a large mission field, the Conversión y Custodia de San Pablo, took on new meaning. The keynote for the period was defensive expansion.

In the following century, New Mexicans, seeking new arable farmlands and trade, expanded north and west. By 1711, traders had moved northwestward to present day Utah. By 1720, Abiquiu on the Rio Chama was the jumping off point for northern expansion. In 1778 Bernardo Miera y Pacheco produced one of his many maps showing Abiquiu as Aviquaro. The map also included a number of place names along the Rocky Mountain Range in southwestern Colorado on a route that would later be known as the "Old Spanish Trail."

Earlier, in 1776, Miera accompanied Friar Silvestre Velez de Escalante and a small party from Santa Fe to Abiquiu where they followed Indian trails toward present day Provo, Utah, and Timpanogos Lake (Great Salt Lake) in their quest to establish a route

to Monterey, California. Snow in the Sierra Nevada forced the expedition to turn south, past present day Cedar City in southern Utah. From there, in order to return to New Mexico, the expedition entered the Grand Canyon, which was explored for several weeks. Finally, the explorers emerged from the canyon and reached the Rio Grande by way of El Morro, then travelled north to Albuquerque and Santa Fe. By 1813 a number of Spanish trails crisscrossed Utah from New Mexico. One of the favored routes of the Old Spanish Trail ran from Santa Fe to Abiquiu past the Rio San Juan, where it turned west to Kanab, Utah, slightly north of the Grand Canyon. From there, the route continued to a stopping place (*paraje*) called Las Vegas (Nevada) and finally to its destination, Los Angeles, California.

As Spanish interests shifted from New Mexico to the California coast in the late eighteenth century, Sonora and southern Arizona, known as *Pimería Alta*, served as important areas of settlement. In the early 1600s, Jesuit missionaries had established an ecclesiastical hold in northwestern Mexico. By 1765, settlers, miners, and investors demanded that the area be pacified. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were expelled because Spanish officials believed them to be disloyal to the king, and Franciscan missionaries arrived in Sonora to replace them. Simultaneously, in 1767, a large professional Spanish army began to control raiding Indian groups in a large area between Guaymas and Hermosillo in Sonora. The eighteenth century cartography of Sonora and southern Arizona reflects the missionary-military partnership. Legends on maps depicted the symbols for the numerous mission sites of Pimería Alta, which included Tumacacori, Guevavi, Yuma, and San Xavier del Bac in present day southern Arizona. Likewise, the symbols demonstrated the locations of military towns such as Terranate, Santa Cruz, Tubac, and Tucson.

The establishment of California resulted from the 1767 military build-up in Sonora. In 1769 the court favorite, visatador general José de Galvez, ordered governor Gaspar de Portolá to take a detachment of soldiers and establish a base at San Diego. The expedition mapped and explored the interior of California from bases established at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco. The European discovery of San Francisco Bay in 1769 was matched by many other discoveries such as that of the Great Central Valley in northern California and the San Joaquin in the south by Pedro Fages.

The California coast, extending from Baja California to Alaska, was mapped and explored many times during the period 1769 to 1821, but its military importance became evident after 1775 when English, Anglo-American, and Russian encroachments threatened the Spanish claim to North America. By the 1780s, Spanish ships from California reached as far north as Nootka Sound (Vancouver Island), Sitka, the Gulf of Alaska, Prince William Sound, sites along the Alaska Peninsula such as Katmai, and islands with strange-sounding names like Unalaska. From these far-reaching trips Spanish cartography captured an extensive view of the Pacific Northwest.

Likewise, eighteenth century Spanish cartographers recorded details along the Oregon and Washington coasts. In the 1790s Spain

sought to establish firmly her claim to the Pacific Northwest, but was unable to do so under pressure from her rivals. By 1793, under the Nootka Sound Conventions, Spain was forced to relinquish any claim to the area. Place names such as Port Alberni, named after Pedro de Alberni, a military commander on Vancouver Island, and Cordoba and Valdez in Alaska and other places on the Oregon and Washington coasts still bear witness to the Spanish claim to the Pacific Northwest. One name, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, reflects Spanish activities dating to about 1590, two hundred years of claim that ended in the 1790s.

Spain's vast northern frontier had no equal among other European claims to North America. The Spanish colonial settlements between California and Texas dotted Spanish maps with familiar names among which are San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, San Diego, Tucson, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, El Paso, and San Antonio. Along the Mississippi River and further east there are other names that tell of Spain's far-flung interests. Once, the Spanish flag flew over San Luis (St Louis, Missouri), Nueva Orleans (New Orleans), Mabila (Mobile), Pansacola (Pensacola), Poste des Arkansas (Arkansas Post), San Agustín (St Augustine), Tallahasse (Tallahassie), Guale (Georgia), Gualquini (Fort Fredericka), and a litany of other places.

In 1800, however, Spain relinquished to France her hold to the vast Louisiana Territory in the Treaty of San Ildefonso. In 1819, Spain ceded Florida to the United States under the Transcontinental Treaty. The rest of the Spanish domain underwent a historical process that culminated in the War of 1846 between the United States and Mexico. Thus, Spain's former northern frontier was incorporated within the United States.

Spanish colonial cartography represents 329 years of colonial administration. But the cultural and historical heritage continues by way of the genealogical legacy present across the continent between Florida and California. Demographically, what was Spanish-speaking at the end of the Spanish Colonial Period, is still, to an extent, Spanish-speaking today. Historical place names of cities, rivers, mountains, and other topographical features are reminders of our rich cartographical inheritance. Indeed, Spanish colonial cartography serves as an aid in explaining a significant part of our national story and our common historical and cultural ties shared throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Cultural Encounters at Fort Union

T J Sperry
Park Historian
Fort Union National Monument
(Deceased)

The legacy of Spanish peoples in the Southwest does not stop with the American invasion of Mexico in 1846. Gringo politics, economics, and society certainly changed forever the lives of the Hispanic population, but these people did not just go away. Suppressed by a new power that often viewed them through eyes clouded by ethnic and racial prejudice, Hispanic New Mexicans concerned themselves with how best to adapt to the new state of affairs. In the process they came to play a significant role in military and economic operations throughout the Territory.

American occupation brought two elements into the Rio Grande country that impacted everyone's lives for several decades after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. One was the appearance of permanent American merchants. These replaced the seasonal itinerants who had engaged so heavily in the international Santa Fe trade after 1821, the year of Mexican independence from Spain. The other element was the United States Army, the enforcer of government policy and sometimes protector of citizens and property. Both brought with them a continuous need for supplies and goods on an unprecedented scale. The vast majority of their needs could only be procured in "the States" and the route that brought them was the Santa Fe Trail.

By the 1860s, the Santa Fe Trail was a military road. As many as two to three thousand wagons a year off-loaded thousands of tons of army goods at the storehouse loading docks at Fort Union, New Mexico. From its inception in July 1851 until its ultimate demise three decades later, the Fort Union Quartermasters Depot acted as the receiving, storage, and distribution point for the several dozen other posts, garrisons, cantonments, and camps that variously dotted New Mexico and eastern Arizona. From Fort Garland, Colorado, to Camp Apache, Arizona, from Forts Sumner and Bascom to Stanton, Wingate, and Bayard, several thousand American soldiers depended on the Fort Union Depot for clothing, bedding, tents, cooking utensils, building materials, office supplies, heating stoves, lighting devices, and food.

The most visible activity of the depot operation, of course, was the arrival and departure of the canvas-covered wagons plying the Santa Fe Trail. But the operation of transportation was only part of the story. The army bureaucracy demanded the accountability of its material, and invoices, bills of lading, vouchers, inventories, requisitions, statements of accounts, returns categorized monthly, quarterly, and annually, and dozens of other forms had to follow each item through the supply chain. Nearly all supplies spent some amount of time in storage at the depot. Subsistence stores, in particular, were subject to specific guidance as to storage. Dunnage and overhead space, periodic turning of containers with preservation solutions, and height and depth of storage areas all required constant monitoring and back-breaking labor. Requisitions filled from bulk storage demanded a constant supply of empty containers designed to withstand rough handling, and stores had to be selected from those longest on hand. Readied shipments had to be uniformly marked with the destination, contents, weight, and point of origin.

Such an operation required a good deal of manpower. The size and importance of the Fort Union Depot rated a commander who was a professional logistician, an officer of the Quartermasters Department. The remainder of the depot staff largely consisted of temporarily detailed soldiers from the garrison, or, for the most part, civilian employees. By 1864, as military freighting on the Santa Fe Trail reached its zenith, as many as 400 people were on the Depot payroll. Long lines of trains operated by professional outfits like Irwin, Jackman, & Co. arrived at Fort Union in larger numbers than ever before. As relations with the southern plains tribes, Navajos, and Apaches reached a low ebb, the military's numbers and needs swelled.

It would be an understatement to say that the Fort Union Depot was healthy for the local economy. New Mexicans were quick to realize the profits from all aspects of Santa Fe Trail business. This included the federal dollars involved in the upkeep of the army; but not just in freighting or the fulfillment of contracts for army supplies. The monthly payrolls at the Quartermasters Depot provided several hundred jobs for native New Mexicans, giving steady work and shelter for those fortunate enough to fill a vacancy.

The Fort Union census of 1870 shows 101 civilian employees at the depot during the enumerating period. Approximately 40 employees were absent at the time, nearly all as teamsters with government trains in the field. Sixty one listed employees have Spanish surnames and list New Mexico or Chihuahua as their place of birth. Another 36 are listed as occupants of the post, either as housewives, domestic servants, laundresses, or other positions or occupations not specifically part of the depot staff. Thus nearly 100 Hispanic Americans owed their homes or incomes to positions at the post or depot.

It would be nice, indeed, if we could point to these numbers and extol the virtues of the military as liberated thinkers many years ahead of their time. The picture of a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic community, happily serving the republic in perfect harmony, is an appealing one. But a closer examination suggests something very different, and, indeed, more in tune with reality.

Six clerks were employed at the depot at a minimum of $100.00 per month. Their names were LeGrand, Davis, Bryson, Jones, Craft, and Stoddard. Blacksmiths James, Delany, Dickerson, Johnson, Grover, and Wright received $85.00 per month. Painters William Van Reeve and George Campbell worked for the same salary, as did carpenters Hern, Sycott, and Longmyer.

Laborers Medina and Valencia received $35.00 per month. So did herders Jose Allsop and Francisco Gallego. Their boss, chief herder Lorenzo Hickcock (brother of the more famous Wild Bill) received $60.00. Stonemasons Ewing and Moran received $100.00 while teamsters Ricardo Alberto, Domingo Alvares, Filepe Baca, and Jose Candaleria all labored for $35.00 every month. In no case does a Hispanic employee appear in a position rated above $35.00 a month, and in every case the higher paying positions were filled by Anglos.

The argument can be made that most New Mexicans lacked anything approaching a formal education and, therefore, did not qualify for the more skilled positions. It is difficult to believe, however, that the position of chief herder was beyond the capabilities of New Mexicans, or that competent carpenters or smiths were unavailable between Taos and Las Vegas. It is more likely that the prevalent attitudes of the times infected the US Army to the same degree commonly found in the society from which it was drawn. While the diarist Susan MacGoffin stands as a notable bigot by today's standards, she is remarkable largely because she committed her thoughts to paper. While not as blatant as MacGoffin, army correspondence of the period frequently reveals the superior attitude of officers stationed in the southwest. Major AW Evans's depot inspection of June, 1868, refers to "mexican employees and their women," an unfortunate phraseology frequently applied to Indians or any group considered immoral, unrefined, or somehow

less civilized than Anglo-Saxon America. Even the Irish, then recent victims of intense ethnic prejudice in the eastern states, did much better in the depot organizational hierarchy.

Nonetheless, if New Mexicans were not involved in decision-making or supervision at the Fort Union depot, they were the muscle that got the job done. The laborers were the ones who loaded and unloaded the endless lines of wagons at the warehouse docks, and the teamsters were the ones who moved those wagons up and down the Trail. By the 1870s Hispanic participation had extended to the civilian contract freighters as well. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, having reached into southeastern Colorado, put the big cross-country freighters out of business. This placed the responsibility in the hands of the various forwarding and commission houses such as Chick, Browne, & Co., and Otero, Sellars, & Co. These firms subcontracted for wagon transportation from their end-of-track warehouses, and the vast majority of these short-haul freighters were natives of New Mexico—eighty six percent in the case of the Chick, Browne, & Company in 1875. Anyone with a team and wagon could go to work hauling Uncle Sam's freight. The now-famous cursing of the bullwacker that accompanied the crack of the whip was generally in Spanish.

During the 30-year existence of the Fort Union Quartermasters Depot, few, if any, Hispanic Americans rose to prominent positions within the depot infrastructure. The Anglo-American system, as with systems everywhere, tended to favor its own. And though hundreds were employed over the years, one must wonder if there would have been many even in the low-paying laboring jobs had a sufficient pool of Anglos been available in those territorial days.

But the depot, the Santa Fe Trail, and the army's mammoth logistic system could not function without them. Hispanic employees and freighters made the freight move, whether it was from a Colorado railhead town, from wagon to warehouse, or to far-away Camp Apache in Arizona. Few of us picture the bustling activity of Trail days as a clerk preparing endless bills of lading or a carpenter building crates for a shipment to Fort Bayard. Instead, in our mind's eye, we see a long line of white-topped wagons churning prairie dust into the air. We hear the crack of the bullwhip and the creak and thud of wooden wheels in the widening ruts. And it was amid such scenes that you found the New Mexicans.

The Civil War brought military activity in the Southwest to an unprecedented level. Henry Hopkins Sibley, commanding Fort Union at the outbreak of the war, resigned his commission as a major of the First Dragoon Regiment and offered his services to the Confederacy. Jefferson Davis listened carefully to Sibley's plans for extending Rebel control west to a Pacific coast seaport and north to the Colorado gold fields. With Davis's blessing and a commission as a brigadier general, Sibley headed for Texas to organize a brigade for the invasion of New Mexico.

With the bulk of Regular troops headed east, the Territory's defenses were meager indeed. New Mexico, like the other Union states, raised volunteer forces to man the Federal effort. By the end of 1861, five understrength regiments and several separate battalions and companies had been recruited.

Because the bulk of New Mexico's male population having been born citizens of Mexico, there was no reason to expect an outpouring of loyalty or patriotic fervor. The Confederates, in fact, counted on this to assist their planned operations up the Rio Grande. The Hispanic citizenry, however, responded to the Union cause. Whether by peer pressure, inducement of bounty and pay, or a genuine desire to defend their homeland, native New Mexicans long after referred to the Civil War as "La Guerra encontra de los Tejanos," the war with the Texans. General Sibley encountered apathy at best and hostility at worst as his campaign finally met with defeat at Glorieta Pass in March, 1862.

Many of the New Mexico volunteer units were mustered into service near Fort Union at an establishment known as Camp Gabriel Paul. Poorly armed and equipped, they were put to work constructing a massive earthwork fort in the final months of 1861 as the Federals prepared for Sibley's approach. By the summer of 1862, with the Rebel threat ended, the Territorial units were reorganized. Their attentions turned to the worsening situations with the Comanche and Kiowa on the Southern Plains and the Navajos and Apaches to the west and south. And so the New Mexico troops performed escort duty and engaged in active campaigning from Fort Bowie, Arizona to Fort Larned, Kansas, until late summer of 1866 when regular troops once again assumed responsibility for military operations on the frontier. During the period, nearly 3,500 New Mexicans, mostly poor and unschooled Hispanos, served their new country as soldiers, enduring constant ethnic prejudice from the Anglo officers, politicians, and citizens they served and protected.

The American frontier period in New Mexico was not a happy one for the descendants of the early Spanish conquerors. As the original intruders on Indian lands, they had born the brunt of American Indian hatred for generations, then watched helplessly as the Americans quickly took control of much of what they had built for themselves. In an effort to retain some semblance of their heritage and culture, Hispanic New Mexicans adapted to the new intruders presence and, in so doing, wrote a forgotten chapter to the American's ultimately successful Manifest Destiny.

Spanish Explorers Along the Alaska Coast

Frank Norris
Historian
Alaska Region

The Spanish in Alaska? Today, their voyages are scarcely known. Their influence proved ephemeral. For twenty years in the late eighteenth century, however, Spain vied with other European powers for the control of Alaska. During that period Spain sponsored seven expeditions, and in so doing investigated many areas previously unknown to Europeans. They also searched for the Northwest Passage, the shortcut to the Orient that had eluded European explorers for 300 years. Their voyages, however, did not result in settlement. As a result, the primary reminders of their presence are a scattering of geographical place names strung out along the Alaska coastline.

Spanish influence in the Pacific Northwest, including Alaska, began in the sixteenth century. In 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa

crossed Panama and "discovered" the Pacific Ocean. In 1542 a small fleet commanded by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo sailed north from Mexico as far as the southern coast of Oregon. Backed by these expeditions, and the Papal Bull of 1493, Spain claimed the entire west coast of North America.

The other western European powers, however, also coveted the coastline, because many believed it contained the western end of the fabled Strait of Anian, or Northwest Passage. Spaniards were fascinated to hear that their own Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado had sailed through such a strait in 1588, and were further enticed to learn that Juan de Fuca, sailing up the west coast in 1592, had discovered "a broad inlet of sea into which he entered, sailing therein more than twenty days." Maldonado's voyage, of course, was pure fabrication, and most twentieth century historians have also dismissed the validity of the Fuca expedition. Two centuries of mariners and bureaucrats, however, found the idea of such a passage irresistible, and the search for it lay behind much of the exploration of the north Pacific coast.

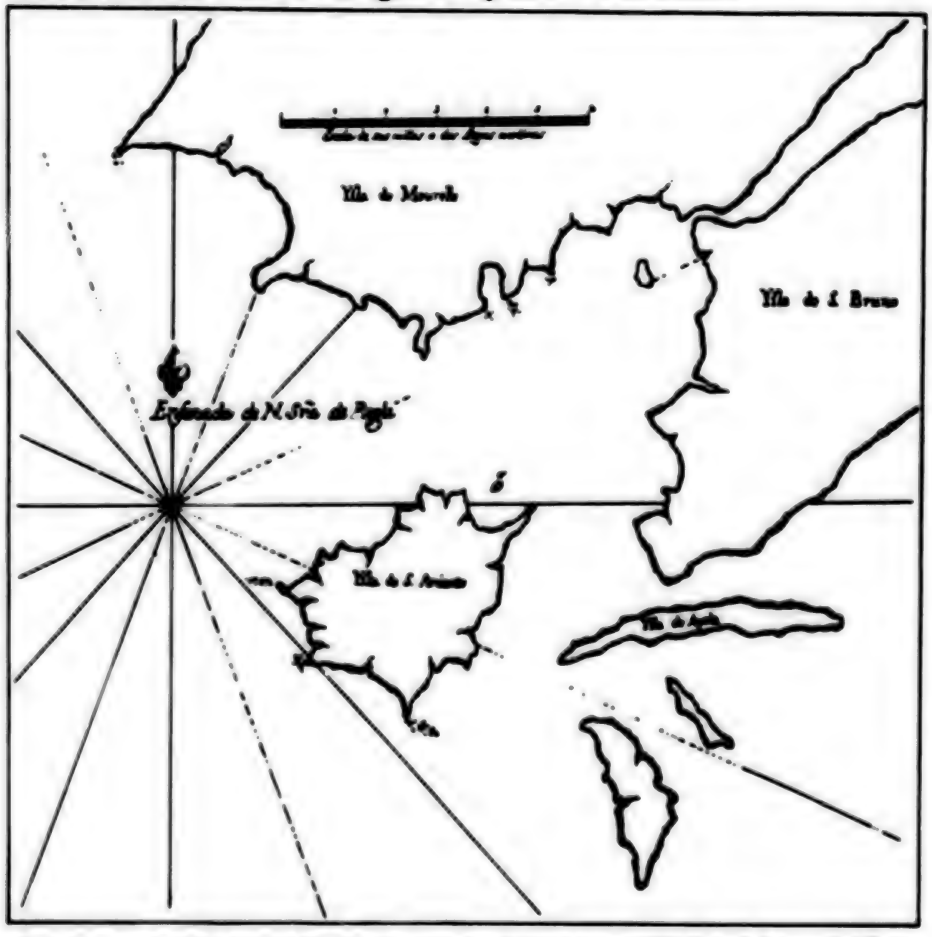
Spain sent several more expeditions up the coast during the seventeenth century, but did not follow up its claims with settlement. By 1741, when the first Russian expedition reached Alaska, Spanish settlement had progressed only as far as present-day Baja California. The Spanish, moreover, had not yet explored north of the present-day Oregon coast. That changed in the mid-1760s when Spanish agents in St Petersburg heard reports about organized Russian activities along the Alaskan coast. Madrid was so alarmed by the news that the colonization of California soon followed. A Spanish base was founded at San Diego in 1769, and within a decade a chain of missions and settlements were established as far north as San Francisco.

The Russian presence in Alaska also convinced Spanish officials to explore the Pacific Northwest. In 1773 the viceroy (governor) of Mexico, Antonio María Bucareli, ordered Juan Pérez to follow the coast as far as the 60th parallel and take possession of the coast for Spain. The expedition left San Blas, on Mexico's west coast, the following January. Pérez made his way north to Dixon Entrance, the stretch of open ocean at 54°40'N that marks Alaska's southern boundary. There, within sight of Prince of Wales Island, bad weather and adverse currents forced him to turn back.

Not satisfied with what Pérez had accomplished, Bucareli sent two more ships north the following year. One, under the command of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, made it to the Alaska coast. Bodega y Quadra spent the latter half of the summer in the waters off southeastern Alaska, and sailed north to the fifty-eighth parallel. On August 18, his ship anchored off Kruzof Island, near present-day Sitka National Historical Park. The crew went ashore, planted a cross, and claimed the land for Spain. Their arrival attracted about twenty armed Tlingits. An edgy standoff ensued, and the visitors left as soon as the necessary wood and water had been retrieved.

The Spanish were the first Europeans to visit southeastern Alaska, but rivals soon followed. During 1778 Captain James

Cook, an Englishman, spent part of his third expedition in Alaskan waters. Spain, largely unaware of Cook's whereabouts, dispatched a third expedition of its own in February 1779. This expedition, consisting of two ships under the commands of Ignacio de Arteaga y Brazan and Bodega y Quadra, finally fulfilled Bucareli's original mandate by sailing all the way to 60° N. Their first Alaskan landfall was Bucareli Bay, on Prince of Wales Island. Two months later they sailed north into Prince William Sound and anchored in Nuchek Bay. They claimed the land for Spain, quite unaware that both Cook and Potap Zaikov, a Russian fur trader, had recently visited the area. The two ships then continued to the mouth of Cook Inlet. In August they set sail for home.



Southern end of the Kenai Peninsula, Alaska, based on a 1779 Spanish map by Don Ignacio Arteaga of the vessel *La Princesa*.

The expeditions of the 1770s served to further Spain's claim to Alaska's southeastern and south central coasts. With several landfalls and discoveries to their credit, and without having encountered settlements of Russians or other Europeans, the Spanish felt secure in their claim to much of the Alaskan coastline. Their primary mission was to gain a general impression of the coastline and to squelch the empire-building ambitions of rival powers. Beyond that, Spain showed no particular interest in Alaska and temporarily withdrew from the area.

News of competitors in the area, however, spurred the Spanish into renewed activity. In 1786, Jean Francois de Galaup de La Pérouse spent several weeks along the Alaska coast. The new Spanish viceroy, Manuel Antonio de Flores, feared that this expedition might result in the establishment of French trading posts.

Also hearing rumors of Russian settlement activity, Flores ordered a new expedition to verify the authenticity of the rumors and to examine the coast for desirable settlement sites.

Accordingly, two ships left San Blas in March 1788 under the commands of Esteban José Martínez and Gonzalo López de Haro. They sailed directly to Prince William Sound and arrived there in late May. They anchored at Montague Island and remained there for almost three weeks. They then headed southwest, and before long the two vessels became separated. Haro's ship reached Kodiak Island in late June, and was soon guided to the Russian colony at Three Saints Bay. Here Evstrat Delarov, the Chief Administrator of the Golikov-Shelikhov Company, welcomed the crew but made it clear that the company, operating under government charter, was in firm control of the entire coastline south to 52°N. Haro then sailed on to the Trinity Islands, southwest of Kodiak, where he found Martínez and his crew. The two commanders endured miserable conditions, but were able to guide their vessels down the Alaska Peninsula to the Shumagin Islands, then on to Umnak Island. On Unalaska Island, they put in at the Russian settlement of Illiuliuk, after which they returned to San Blas.

While visiting the Russian settlements, Martínez and Haro learned that a Russian expedition was being organized to found a trading post at Nootka, on the west side of Vancouver Island. The prospect of a foreign settlement so far down the coast stirred the Spanish to action, and in 1789 Martínez and Haro sailed back to Nootka and began building a fort in an effort to secure sovereignty. Soon, several English ships appeared in the harbor. Martínez, following what he felt were his orders, seized three of those vessels, imprisoned most of the crew, and sent them to Mexico City to be questioned by the viceroy.

The actions of Martínez began a sequence of events that ended Spanish influence on the northwestern Pacific coast. First, the viceroy ruled that Martínez overstepped his authority in seizing the three ships. The incident soon developed into a diplomatic confrontation and might well have provoked a war between England and Spain, with France siding with Spain. France, however, was in the throes of a revolution, and in no position to help its ally. The Spanish, therefore, were forced to back down. They were certainly in no position to settle the northwest coast any time soon, and several other countries were showing an increasing interest in the area. In October 1790, therefore, Spain reluctantly signed the first of three Nootka Conventions, which eventually caused it to yield its claim over the northwest coast. The convention did not prevent Spain from establishing settlements; rather, it gave all powers equal access to the region.

Still, Spanish interest in the area continued and Spain's claim remained until 1793. Just as its hegemony in the area was declining, it began a renewed effort to locate the legendary Northwest Passage. The voyages of Maldonado and Fuca had long fired the imagination of explorers, but the existence of the passage was

not taken seriously by the financially or politically influential until embraced by Philippe Buache, the eminent French scholar. In the late 1770s Captain Cook had made considerable efforts in his search for the passage; now the Spanish government developed its own interests in the matter by launching a new series of expeditions into the north Pacific.

The ostensible purpose of these expeditions was the search for Russian activity in the Pacific Northwest. But locating the Northwest Passage was an important secondary consideration. The first such expedition sailed in 1790 under the command of Salvador Fidalgo. Embarking on a single ship from Spain's post at Nootka Sound, Fidalgo was ordered to complete an examination of the coasts south of the sixtieth parallel. Fidalgo made a detailed survey s[illegible] the northern and eastern perimeter of Prince William Sound, but noted no such passageway. Fidalgo sailed on to Kodiak, then south to San Blas.

A scientific expedition went north the following spring, when two vessels, under the commands of Alejandro Malaspina and José Bustamante y Guerra, sailed from Mexico. They sighted land near present-day Sitka in late June, and spent the next several weeks slowly creeping up the coastline to Prince William Sound. Part of that search was the investigation of Yakutat Bay and the coastal portion of present-day Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve. No gap in the mountain masses, however, could be found.

The Spanish did not easily give up on the notion of a Strait of Anían. As a result of their explorations, they concluded (correctly, it turned out) that no such passage existed north of Prince of Wales Island. Based upon the information available, however, the Spanish considered that such a passageway might still be found between Prince of Wales Island and Dixon Entrance, or further south near the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

To investigate that possibility, a third expedition was organized in search of Maldonado's elusive passage. In March 1792, Jacinto Caamaño set sail from San Blas. He provided a thorough investigation of southern Prince of Wales Island, Dixon Entrance, and the various passages and inlets in present-day British Columbia, but found no passageway.

Caamaño's expedition brought the long Spanish period of exploration in northwestern North America to a quiet close. But the Spanish influence is still recognized in the place names that were either provided by the explorers or named in their honor. The state's largest glacier, for instance, is Malaspina; two of its larger towns are Valdez, named for Antonio Valdés, the Spanish minister of the navy from 1783 to 1795, and Cordova, named by Fidalgo in 1790 for Puerto Cordova, an inlet now known as Orca Bay. They also left their mark on the place names still used for a number of the state's bays, capes, and islands.

The intrepid Spanish, venturing so many times into the unknown, added greatly to European knowledge of the New World; in the peoples and languages they encountered, in the cultural and natural artifacts they collected, and the remarkable cartographic records they made.

Of Missions and Missionaries: Most Asked Questions

Rosalind Z Rock
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San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

Spanish colonial missions and the missionary process conjure popular ideas in the public mind. These are often heavily romantic ideas, laced with imagery of tranquil settings and fine architecture, without a sense of the context in which missions developed and operated. Of course there is much more to this major theme of Spanish colonial history, and much still to learn.

What was a mission?
As originally conceived of in church strategy, a mission was an action, not a building or place. Evolving in medieval Europe, missions were bands of itinerant clergy preaching the word of God in the streets to save souls. In the New World, this traditional element of mission continued in the goals of the apostolic missionary college to not only propagate the faith but also to convert unbelievers and heretics. Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús, famous for his work in Texas as well as in Guatemala, preached in the streets of towns and cities when he was not in the mission field.

The mission as we know it, composed of a church, dwellings, and other buildings, was developed in New Spain among the Jesuits. In 1577 they suggested that residences or "houses of habitation" be built in communities of natives to house the missionaries. As time passed these "missions" became the complex of buildings now visible at sites such as those in San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.

In light of the agreements made between the Spanish monarchy and the Papacy from 1493 to 1508, a *Patronato Real* was formulated whereby the crown maintained control over the clergy in New Spain. The king, as the pope's representative, became the patrón, de facto head of the church in America, with the clergy becoming a branch of the civil service. Once in New Spain, however, missionaries could be assigned to posts by their own superiors. The heads of the establishments were elected by members of their own orders without royal interference. The viceroy, in his capacity as vice-patrón, was to promote the establishment of missions on the frontier. Included in this patronage was the payment of missionary salaries and mission expenses and the provision of protection. In this way, the mission evolved into not only a means to convert "gentiles," but a means to "civilize" the native population and make them into model Spanish citizens.

Who were the missionaries?
The missionaries who served in what is now Mexico and in the Southern, Southwestern, and Western United States were generally of three Orders: Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit. In Texas the missionaries were Franciscan.

The Sierra Madre mountain chain in Northern New Spain (Mexico) roughly divided the mission fields of the Franciscans and Jesuits. The western area demarcated by the Sierra Madre Occidental, largely made up of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California, was given over to the jurisdiction of the Society of Jesus, or Jesu-

ita, as a mission field. The vast area to the east, demarcated by the Sierra Madre Oriental and for the most part comprised of Nueva Vizcaya, New Mexico, Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander, made up the field of the Franciscans. In 1767, the Jesuits were expelled from Spain's New World mission fields.

Northeastern New Spain

The Franciscans, considering themselves "the least of the brethren," termed themselves as Friars Minor. They took oaths of poverty as well as celibacy. This begging, or mendicant order of Regular, or regulated, clergy was founded in Italy in 1210 by Giovanni Francesco Bernardone, known to the world as St Francis of Assisi. The order came to New Spain as early as the time of Cortés (1524). They carried out their work through the development of provinces, parallel in nature to what the diocese is for secular clergy. Missionaries who came to New Spain were assigned to

either a Franciscan province (geographic and administrative entities under the direction of a father provincial) or to apostolic colleges for the propagation of the faith.

In 1525 the Franciscans had a small establishment attached to the Province of San Gabriel de Extremadura. In 1535 it became an autonomous province, the Province of Santo Evangelio. This province included the custodies, or groups of missions, of Michoacán and Zacatecas, until these were made separate provinces. The Conversión de San Pablo del Nuevo Mexico remained in its jurisdiction. The most extensive missionary effort on the northern frontier was carried out by Franciscans belonging to the custody beginning about 1574 and then by the Province of San Francisco de Zacatecas beginning in 1604.

Starting in Northern Nueva Galicia, the Franciscans spread out over much of Nueva Vizcaya, Nuevo Leon, and northernmost New Spain and established their headquarters at San Luis Potosí. While members of the Franciscan provinces continued their work in Nuevo Santander, the missionary endeavors of northern Nueva Vizcaya were united in 1717 in a custody. San Antonio del Parral and the easternmost establishments formed a separate group sometimes referred to as the Custody of Nuevo Leon.

Where were the missionaries trained? What was their preparation?

For the most part, the Franciscan missionary organizations on the northern frontier were the Colegios Apostólicos de Propaganda Fide (Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith).

Each college was an autonomous monastery governed by a guardian. These were founded to train friars in "the propagation of the faith and the conversion of heretics and other unbelievers." The first such Franciscan college in the New World was that of Santa Cruz de Querétaro founded in 1682. With the College of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, founded in 1703, it provided missionaries to what is now Central America, the fields of Texas, Tamaulipas, parts of Nueva Vizcaya, and later Sonora, Baja, and Alta California.

Missionary colleges were a place of preparation, both spiritual and material, for those who were to venture out into the vast and varied wilderness for God and king. Preparation included methods in gathering, instructing, and preaching to the neophyte. In the early days of the colleges, efforts were made to teach Indian languages to those going into the fields that had been already established. Some like Fray Bartolomé García, a Queretaran, wrote a manual in the Coahuiltecan language for the administration of the sacraments. It was printed in Mexico in 1760 and used by missionaries in the field at San Antonio.

Members of the College of Querétaro founded missions in eastern Texas in the last decade of the seventeenth century, which were later relocated along the San Antonio River to join the mission of San Antonio de Valero founded there in 1718. Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús, former guardian of the College of Querétaro and founder of the College of Zacatecas, began the mission of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo on the San Antonio River near its present site in 1720.

Those who obeyed the calling as missionaries came from various backgrounds and nationalities. Not all of the missionaries were natives of Spain—or from Europe for that matter. Fray Francisco Xavier Castellanos, a Queretaran, was a native of Mexico City.

Others gained a reputation for scholarly endeavors. Fray Margil de Jesús was university educated and ordained as a priest before coming to serve in the mission field. Before becoming a missionary, Fray Joseph Cosmé Borruel, who assisted at Mission San José in the 1730s, had been a priest, a rector, and a professor of philosophy and theology at the seminary in Guadalajara. Fray Juan Domingo de Arricivita, a missionary at San Antonio de Valero in 1750, wrote a lengthy account of the College of Querétaro in his later years, which was published in Mexico City in 1792. Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa, founder of the three East Texas missions that were later moved to the San Antonio River, had a rich and prodigious career as a missionary. He gained his greatest fame posthumously for his Crónica, or Chronicle, a multi-volume history of the apostolic colleges, published in 1746 and 1747.

Some friars were versed in the arts and sciences. Fray José López, who served as missionary at San Antonio de Valero in the 1750s and at Mission Concepción in the 1760s, was a calligrapher. A Zacatecan, Fray José Mariano Roxo, who served at both Missions Concepción and San José in the 1790s, was especially noted for his ability to teach the Indians music and singing. Fray José Manuel Pedrajo, also a Zacatecan and born in Mexico, evidently had some engineering skills, for during the five years he spent at San José he reputedly directed the building of a flour mill and an irrigation ditch.

Were the missions a success or failure?
As a rule, earlier historians did not address this question. Historians of the Texas missions such as Fray Marion A. Habig and Carlos Castañeda presented the institution of the missions in a positive light. On a national level, Herbert Eugene Bolton also viewed the mission as a positive element of frontier life, particularly for Spain's New World experience.

On the other hand, beginning with Edward H Spicer in *Cycles of Conquest* and culminating in recent years in the writings of a school of Chicano historians, the period of Spanish rule has come to be viewed as cruel, intrusive, and destructive of the Indian civilizations extant at the time of Columbus's initial encounter. Recently this has been carried outside the academic realm to the controversy in California between proponents for and against the proposed canonization of Fray Junípero Serra, the Franciscan who was in the 1769 vanguard of missionary activities in Alta California.

Both in the Americas and in Spain, many questions are being asked as people look more closely at a process that previously appeared to most as something to be memorized and tucked away as one other fact learned in a history class. At San Antonio Missions National Historical Park some questions, like those addressed above, take on new significance as we confront changing times, changing perspectives, and inquiring visitors.

The Afro-Hispanics of the Santa Monica Mountains and their Interpretation

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Santa Monica Mountains
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Contrary to popular perceptions, the cultural diversity of Los Angeles is not a new phenomenon, but was the very basis for the city's founding.

The "Spaniards" in the Americas during the era of exploration in fact included Blacks, Mulattoes (people of African and European, and in this case Spanish, descent) in expeditions. By 1760, most troops on the northern frontier of the Spanish Empire in the Americas were also Blacks, Mulattoes, Mestizos (people of Spanish and Indian descent), and American Indians. We also know that many Afro-Hispanics were among those who immigrated from the mainland of México to Baja California when it was colonized in the early 1700s. Of the 844 Spanish-speaking people in Baja California in 1790, 183 were Mulattoes, 243 were European Spanish, and 418 were "Castas" (persons of unclassified mixed ancestry).

When Spanish overland expeditions into California began with Gaspar de Portolá in 1769, there was at least one Mulatto soldier and several Mulatto mule drivers. When Juan Bautista de Anza, whom the Anza National Historic Trail commemorates, passed through the Santa Monica Mountains on his way to San Francisco in 1774-1775, his expedition also included many Mulatto soldiers and servants. One of these was José Bartolomé Tapia, first grantee of Rancho Malibu (now the city of Malibu) in the Santa Monica Mountains.

As Spanish subjects began to settle and colonize southern California, Afro-Hispanics were significant participants. Of the 44 settlers who founded the city of El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de los Angeles de Porciúncula (Los Angeles) on September 4, 1781, about half were Afro-Hispanics. By 1784, they had laid the foundations for the church and other public buildings, and had replaced their initial crude homes with substantial adobe buildings, some of which still remain in El Pueblo de Los Angeles State Historic Park. In 1785, another Afro-Hispanic, Francisco Reyes, arrived in Los Angeles. He became the first rancher in southern California's San Fernando Valley, and was mayor of Los Angeles from 1793 to 1795. His family became owner of Rancho Las Virgenes, which included the Agoura Hills area where the park headquarters for Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area is located. By the end of the eighteenth century, Afro-Hispanics made up about twenty percent of the total population of settlers and soldiers in California.

In 1786, the Spanish crown began to issue land grants to some of these settlers to permit them to raise livestock. Two of these were Luis Quintero and María Petra Rubio de Quintero, whose grandson became mayor of Santa Barbara and whose great grandson became sheriff of Los Angeles. A granddaughter, María Rita Valdez, owned Rancho Rodeo de las Aguas in the 1820s. This area is now known as Beverly Hills.

Other prominent Afro-Hispanics included the brothers Andrés and

Pio Pico. Pio and Andrés were in the California rebel force that defeated Lieutenant Colonel Emanuel Victoria's government soldiers at the Battle of Cahuenga Pass in 1831. Victoria (another Afro-Hispanic), then governor of California, was forced by Pico to withdraw to México. The Pico's were then instrumental in starting the revolt that led to the expulsion of General Manuel Micheltorena as governor. Pio Pico then became civilian governor in 1845, until forced into exile by the American forces led by Major John C Fremont and Commodore Robert Stockton in August of 1846. The Pico name remains on streets, landforms, and other landmarks throughout the Santa Monica Mountains and neighboring areas.

The close of the Mexican era did not end the participation and achievement of Black people in southern California. Several rose to prominence. Why then, is there so little information available about the roles, lives and achievements of Afro-Hispanics in southern California? In addition to overt racism, part of the answer may lie in two common misconceptions: first, that there were no Black people among the Spanish and Mexicans who explored, colonized, and settled the area, and second, that all Black people who came to the Americas with Europeans came as slaves and were insignificant bystanders. Both assumptions are false. In *California's Black Pioneers: A Brief Historical Survey*, Dr Kenneth Goode states, "... most of the black and mulatto settlers of California were free men and women ... a smaller number were slaves."

At Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area, the Spanish and Mexican rancheros and explorers who came to the mountains to explore, settle, and start new lives are an important part of the interpretive story. Their lives and achievements are evident on the land. Some of this history is interpreted for elementary school students as part of the park's "Life in Spanish California" education program (part of the Parks as Classrooms program). A bilingual poster of Hispanic and American Indian heritage of the Santa Monica Mountains has been printed and distributed to schools. However, because the lack of research about Afro-Hispanics, interpretation of these people is still in the embryonic stage.

The role played by Hispanic people of African descent in the exploration, settlement, and development of southern California, has been inadequately researched and, as a result, is largely unknown and misunderstood. This gap has made it difficult to interpret these people, and has left several misconceptions about them. It is a major goal of Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation Area to raise the visibility of these forgotten people and recognize the contributions made by all cultures to the history of the United States.

San Antonio Missions: A Story of Mornings, Questions, and Technology

Myron E McCoy
Former Park Ranger
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park

An orange sun comes up, pouring through the mesquite, huisache, pecan, and live oak. There's a rustling of leaves as robins, great-tailed grackles, and mockingbirds frolic and dance about in search of breakfast. There is a soft, warm southwesterly breeze. Black and grey shadows are erased as the sun climbs the eastern sky.

What one notices most of all is a calm, gentle stillness that permeates the air. Morning has come to the missions.

The missions are among our nation's more tangible, and beautiful, examples of Spanish New World colonization—thriving, by historical standards, not that long ago. For a while they were lost in the dust and ashes of time, but since 1978 four of the five missions along the San Antonio River—Concepción, San José, San Juan, and Espada—have become the primary resources of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. The fifth, San Antonio de Valero, the Alamo, is administered by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas.

The mission of San Antonio de Valero was founded on the banks of the San Antonio River on the first morning of May in 1718. Fray Antonio y Olivares began the mission on the day the city of San Antonio still considers its birthday. But this most famous and visited of missions is celebrated because of events beyond its mission history.

By the same token, when the missions of San Antonio are mentioned one usually thinks of the missions of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. The oldest and most famous of these is Mission San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, established by Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus on a chilly February morning in 1720 just 20 months after Mission San Antonio.

But why should there be five missions along the San Antonio River? Missions Concepción, San Juan, and Espada were reestablished in San Antonio on another May morning in 1731 after those first enterprises failed on the Spanish frontier of eastern Texas.

Virtually everyone who enters these grounds carries preconceptions. One of the more common questions is, "Why would any self-respecting Indian, by entering a mission in effect say 'culturize me, I want to forsake my American Indian lifestyle and learn a foreign, a Spanish way of life.'" The answer, in a word, is technology. Not the same technology we are familiar with, but a technology that could be translated into advantages.

First we should understand the American Indians of South-Central Texas a little better. The Coahuiltecans (Kwa-weel-tekens), whose lifestyle was that of hunters and gatherers, were nomadic people. These people migrated seasonally in search of food, water, and shelter. They lived off what the land provided. These people travelled in loosely organized bands of 25-100 members, with each band bearing a name such as Aguastay, Borrado, Camasqua, or Malaguita. Their diet consisted of rabbit, deer, fish, squirrel, mesquite beans, pecans, acorns, the prickly pear fruit, other plant parts, and assorted insects.

They had no alphabet or written language. Virtually no clothing was worn by males and only a small animal skin covered the private parts of females—a condition that dismayed the Spanish. Spanish records show that something as simple as the wheel was unheard of. By the judgement of the day these people were primitive, making it easier for us to understand the use of the word "savage" to describe them.

At the missions the Spaniards were represented by Franciscan friars, soldiers, and some acculturated Indians from older missions

who were useful as interpreters and as model craftsmen and farmers. This was crucial, for the Spanish culture of farming and ranching was diametrically opposed to the Indian culture.

In the newly introduced farming, the sophisticated *acequia* system of drawing water from the San Antonio River by irrigation ditches produced a ready supply of fruit and vegetables. Ranching and the use of farm animals provided a tasty and dependable meat supply. The Spanish culture also provided clothing and shelter. Clothing made from wool and cotton was something the Indians had never seen. Shelters created of stone, mortar, plaster, and timber were suitable for occupation year-round. With all these advantages, no longer would the people have to wander or migrate. The introduction of horses also made travel easier and faster. The weapons used by the Spanish soldiers were technological marvels that left the Indians in awe of the "Thunder" or "Firesticks."

The Coahuiltecans, fragmented, unorganized and peace-loving, were also no match for the aggressive and warlike Apache and (later) Comanche Indians who migrated into Texas during the peak mission years of the 18th century. So at worst the missions were a necessary evil; if times were bad, they stayed. If good, they would often depart. But at best the missions gave the Coahuiltecans a quality of life they had never known.

Finally, another popular question is, " Why did the San Antonio Missions fail?" The missions were not failures. In fact, the missions were unqualified successes in terms of meeting governmental objectives. The problem was that they became obsolete. By 1800, very few untrained or "uncivilized" Indians remained. San Antonio was already becoming a community, and Spain was fast coming upon hard times. The secularization of the missions began in 1793 and continued until 1824, with the mission property divided up among the remaining Indians. By then Mexico was a nation, and most things related to the Spanish era or legacy were no longer welcome.

But today I encourage you to visit the San Antonio Missions and experience for a moment the world of Spain and of Mexico as it was, and of Texas' past. And one other thing; do it in the morning.

The Chamizal Story

Rich Razo
Supervisory Park Ranger
Chamizal National Memorial

Studies of Spanish colonial history bring excitement, but rarely do they venture into self-questioning. Like flipping a coin—you have heads or tails. Rarely does the coin land on edge, allowing both sides to be viewed.

With the arrival of Columbus in 1492 came many changes, opportunities, and enhancements for all who would eventually settle in the New World. The Spanish conquest obviously did not end with the first occupants encountered, but opened the door for the many aggressions and possessions that followed. The British and French would soon arrive and also confront the people of Mexico.

As the nineteenth century opened, the western boundary of the United States rested on the banks of the Mississippi River. Be-

tween 1803 and 1853 the United States expanded its boundary to the Pacific Ocean. The Louisiana Territory was purchased from France in 1803, and in 1846 the Oregon Country was acquired from Great Britain by treaty. Texas slipped away from Mexico in 1836, but was made part of the American Union by 1845. Mexico was further dissected by the Mexican War, which began in 1846 as aggressive Americans pushed west. This resulted in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which marked the first major transfer of land between Mexico and the United States. By this means the United States acquired about half of what was left of Mexico. Incidentally, the initial proposal of the American negotiators included an offer for the United States to purchase the Mexican states of Sonora, Chihuahua, and Coahuila.

The Gadsden Purchase Treaty in 1853, the second transfer of land between the two countries, also gave much of southern New Mexico and all of southern Arizona to the United States.

Both governments thought this would be the end to boundary disputes. But little did they know that Mother Nature had other ideas. The Rio Grande (known to Mexico as the Rio Bravo) stood as the international boundary between the United States and Mexico along its route between El Paso/Ciudad Juárez and Brownsville/Matamoros. Almost immediately, this line became focal point for a long history of boundary issues.

The unruly and unstable Rio Grande has constantly altered its course by either gradual or sudden means. Seasonal flooding frequently changed the course of the river, therefore placing the location of the boundary in question. Thus, negotiations by the two countries to correct complex boundary issues began in the 1880s. By then the boundary problem in the El Paso area was extremely complicated. The effect of these river changes was a confusing pattern of land ownership and jurisdiction, as well as serious ill feelings among local residents and political authorities in both nations.

A series of agreements and treaties, without full satisfaction, finally came to an end when the Chamizal Treaty of 1963 erased the last border dispute. Thus, the third time the United States and Mexico transferred lands it was by peaceful and extraordinarily cooperative means. The process, an eventful 115-year history of international boundary work, is the essence of the Chamizal story. The Treaty of 1963 continues to stand today as a significant landmark in the history of Mexican-American relations.

For once in the history of the two countries, the coin gracefully landed on its edge. Through friendship, understanding, and dedicated cooperation, the two countries were able to create a compromise that recognized the integrity of both nations.

Today, Chamizal National Memorial represents the harmonious resolution made by the two countries. There is still a background of publicized conflicts among local people on both sides of the border (especially those who were forced by the governments to move and reestablish elsewhere), but Chamizal represents the peaceful resolution of dispute and contention.

To accomplish this, Chamizal interprets its international peace/friendship theme with outdoor special events, theatrical per-

formances, and graphic-art displays. Folk cultures of the region are celebrated, as are those from other Hispanic nations. Music, dance, movies, theatrical productions, and craft demonstrations, from amateur groups to international performers, serve as tools to introduce and promote understanding of the many cultures that survive. These cultural heritages are further presented through films and interpretive exhibits.

Each spring, the Siglo de Oro Drama Festival celebrates Spanish colonial history at Chamizal National Memorial. Invitations are extended almost exclusively to companies who have won the Best Production Award in past years. Participation from Spain and Mexico are always great, and allow Chamizal to showcase the best in Hispanic cultural heritage.

The Columbus Legacy at Gulf Islands National Seashore

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Gulf Islands National Seashore

On October 12, 1492, Columbus viewed land in this hemisphere for the first time. This historic voyage by Columbus is possibly one of the examples that President Theodore Roosevelt later alluded to when he said, "Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure than to rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat." It is an important message conveyed to visitors at Gulf Islands National Seashore.

The idea is important, because less than 70 years after Columbus discovered the "New World," the Spanish would sail into the "most favored" bay of Pensacola. On August 14, 1559, Don Tristan de Luna's ships anchored in Pensacola Bay to colonize the area. With him were 1,000 colonists and 500 soldiers sent from the colony of New Spain (today's Mexico) to expand the dominions of His Most Christian Majesty. The settlement at Pensacola was meant to prevent the harbor from being used by pirates preying on the treasure fleets passing from New Spain to Spain. Instead, the colonists spent the next two years battling with insects, disease, hostile natives, and inadequate supplies.

A hurricane wrecked the colony's fleet shortly after its arrival, and another hurricane destroyed most of their crude dwellings a year later. Defeated by the harsh environment, the survivors abandoned Pensacola Bay in 1661. Four years later, in 1565, St Augustine would succeed where Pensacola had failed.

Today, this first attempt at European settlement in North America is a legacy. Because of Spain's perseverance in Pensacola and other areas of her vast empire, she had to build fortifications to protect her interests. Evidence of these efforts remain to this day.

In 1971, Gulf Islands National Seashore was created to protect not only the recreational aspects of this area, but also the cultural elements. Today, this includes one of only three Spanish fortifications east of the Mississippi River, Bateria de San Antonio, constructed in 1797. Built at the head of the pass into Pensacola Bay, this fort

is in the shape of a medialuna or half-moon. Although later modified by American engineers, it still exhibits Spanish embellishments on its stucco finish, in striking contrast to the American Fort, Barrancas, that overlooks it today. This Spanish fortification is symbolic of the explorations along the Gulf Coast by Don Tristan de Luna, Don Andrés de Arriola, and Bernardo de Galvez. As one historian has noted, "these Spanish explorers and conquerors were highly imaginative adventurers."

The checkered history of Pensacola as a Spanish settlement is a good example of these early colonial efforts. An insignificant pawn that changed hands repeatedly in struggles between France and Spain, the settlement was again destroyed by a hurricane in 1757. Again the Spanish rebuilt, only to lose all of Florida to Great Britain in 1763. Still the Spanish would not give up.

In 1779 Spain declared war on Great Britain. The Spanish governor of Louisiana, Bernardo de Galvez, was assigned the task of defeating the British on the Gulf Coast. Galvez very quickly showed his ability in combat.

In the spring of 1780, he captured Mobile Bay. Turning his attention to Pensacola, Galvez occupied Santa Rosa Island the following January. He then laid siege to Pensacola until May 10, 1781 when the British surrendered. Galvez' accomplishment would last barely 30 years before a new rival would again wrest Florida from Spain's grasp, this time to become a part of the upstart United States of America.

The interpretive challenge at Gulf Islands National Seashore lies in making sense of this rich but confusing cultural legacy. Bateria de San Antonio is now connected to an American fort built in the 1840s, which in turn is named for another Spanish fort that once occupied the site. Other fortifications in the seashore carry the story of coastal defense up to the Second World War.

The site of the Spanish settlement on Santa Rosa Island cannot be revealed in order to protect its archeological resources. The area is heavily used for recreational purposes, and is noted as well for the unique natural resources of a barrier island ecosystem. Delineating a special theme among this embarrassment of riches is an interpretive challenge of the best kind, to tell the story of those who would "dare mighty things."

Solutions

Spanish Colonial Research Center, National Park Service

Have you ever heard of Piedra Amarilla, Guale, or Alejandro O'Reilly? On Spanish colonial maps Piedra Amarilla is Yellowstone, and Guale is Georgia. And, Alejandro O'Reilly was a Spanish military governor sent to New Orleans in 1769 to deal with political unrest there. These Spanish references and others can be found in the collection of Spanish period documents, maps, architectural plans and sketches housed in the Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico. From this collection, the center has developed a data base of transcriptions, translations and interpretive materials. The center is an important management resource that was established in 1986 to enable the National Park Service to study, identify, and preserve cultural resources as well as to upgrade its interpretive efforts at Spanish Colonial Heritage sites. The center is also available to assist in training National Park Service personnel in Spanish Colonial history and culture.

The Spanish Colonial Research Center also employs a staff to translate wayside exhibit labels, signs, scripts, exhibit plans, correspondence, and other documents pertinent to National Park Service interests into Spanish. The translation staff of the center has worked with various parks, Harpers Ferry Center, and the Denver Service Center to enhance the visitor experience through Spanish language interpretation. The center's translation efforts have provided a distinct service to national parks and the multifaceted culturally diverse audience who visit them.

As part of its dissemination of information about Spanish Colonial history and culture, the center has developed a publications program. Bibliographies, indices to the center's documentary collection, monographs on Spanish colonial history, and other publications, including the Colonial Latin American Historical Review (CLAHR), have been published. Many of the center's publications have been distributed by the Southwest Parks and Monuments Association and the Eastern National Park and Monument Association.

For additional information regarding the Spanish Colonial Research Center's documentary collection and its Spanish-English translation services, contact Dr Joseph P. Sanchez, Chief, or staff members at (505) 766-8743, or write Spanish Colonial Research Center, National Park Service, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 87131.

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